NOTES AND COMMENTARIES

DURING

A VOYAGE

TO

BRAZIL AND CHINA,

IN THE YEAR 1848.

BY W. S. W. RUSCHENBERGER.

(FROM THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER FOR 1852-53.)

RICHMOND:
MACFARLANE & FERGUSSON.
1854.

DEDICATED TO

WILLIAM MOORE, ESQ.

PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 1, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR:

While enjoying, with several of my fellow-voyagers, the hospitality of your house, in the summer and autumn of the year 1848, I hastily noted whatever I observed in and about Canton. In many instances what seemed to me strange in the customs of the Chinese was explained by some one or other of the gentlemen, long resident in China, whom I daily met at your table; and by this means I doubt not some errors have been avoided, but I still fear very many have escaped detection by me. The notes thus made, with others, have been printed in the "Southern Literary Messenger," published at Richmond, Va., every month. They are now placed together in a volume which I beg leave to inscribe and dedicate in your name, not as an indication of the value of my labor, but as a token that we were sensible of your kindness and not disposed to forget it. I gladly seize the first opportunity to record an acknowledgement that we received at your hands, attention and civilities which will be always remembered for the good taste and sound judgment, always displayed in your numerous acts of kindness and hospitality, and in testimony of our sense of obligation, I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Very respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

W. S. W. RUSCHENBERGER.

WILLIAM MOORE, ESQ., Canton, China.

[*From the Southern Literary Messenger.*]

NOTES AND COMMENTARIES, ON A VOYAGE TO CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

Sail from New York; Cold weather on board ship; sea sickness; Arrive at Norfolk; Description of ship; Advantages of a light spar-deck; Classes of ship defined; Ordinary reception of an officer on board; front and back doors; Ship's cousins; Hammocks mistaken for ballast; Gun-deck; Inspection of coppers; Berth-deck; A use of the Bible; the hold; Missionaries for China; Religious toleration.

I was among the passengers in the last boat which left the shore for the ship at anchor off the Battery. A keen easterly wind, the thermometer at 20° F., drew each man's attention closely to his personal comfort; there was no capacity, imagination or memory for the regrets of parting with friends, home or country. The fountains of poetic feeling and sentiment were chilled. We shivered as we sat watching the "dipping oars" glassed in ice, while the boat was steered a devious route through openings in an extensive field of drifting ice-cakes. The seamen, almost benumbed in spite of pea-jackets and sturdy "nor-wester" caps, plied their oars steadily. At last we climbed the ship's side; but no cheerful fire blazed for our reception. A shelter from the cutting wind was a comfort, and to this we were cordially welcomed by our companions.

The thermometer on board stood at 18° F. There were no other body-warming means than candles and coats. Fancy the transition from a capacious room gratefully warm, lighted by solar-lamp or gas-flame, carpetted and furnished: fancy the transition from this to a mere closet six feet by four, seen by the flame of a candle burning under a curfew law, known to be the only means to warm, enlighten or cheer, and then you may appreciate the commencement of a cruise in a ship-of-war from a northern latitude in midwinter, while the sounds of the steady tramping of the watch on deck reaches below through the still cold air.

How can one dwell upon the parting hour as a sentimental traveller should, while fighting with the cold at such odds, in a ship at anchor off Staten island, amidst driving ice? This discomfort perhaps draws the heart strongly towards one's hearth-stone and magnifies attachment for home; luxurious ease and the excitement of novelty may abate the feeling, and yet the traveller's diary exhibit a glowing description of it.

Sunday. The day dawned bright and cold: Thermometer 16° F. About ten o'clock, A. M., a measured tramp about the capstan announced to us below that the hour of departure had come. The Narrows were soon passed and threading through "Gedney's channel," we were soon upon the bosom of the Atlantic. The ship was "hove to" to discharge the pilot, who quickly reached his own little vessel, bearing with him the "cape letters." This parting from the pilot is a sort of second farewell, and is slightly depressing to the spirits; but the rapidly succeeding orders of the officer of the watch, the swinging of yards, the tramp of feet on the decks, and creaking of blocks, as the ship is placed upon her course, at once give a new direction to the thoughts. A clear blue sky, a keenly, cold north-west wind, the white crests of the waves like moving snow-wreaths in sunshine; but it is too piercing to remain on deck for the mere pleasure of watching the channel buoys sheeted in ice, or the shores of New Jersey fading away in the distance.

The commander has designated the ship's course; the decks are cleared up; those of the watch, enveloped in pea-coats and comfortables seek the least bleak positions, making a lee of the weather bulwarks, while those whose duties will permit, retire to the depths of their quarters, and give as free scope to the exercise of imagination as animal inconvenience will allow.

Monday. Thermometer has risen to 45° F., but now the wind is adverse. The barometer has fallen, the sea is getting up, the sky looks greasy, and there are several indications of a storm.

By twelve o'clock a change was manifest in our little world. The ship rolled deeply, but easily, and, in opinion of youngsters, the bows rose and fell to a fearful extent. Some of our brave young companions looked pale; stomachs ceased to be constant; a desolating languor seized upon body and mind; the brain was compressed, as if a cord bound the temples: the morning meal was wasted; none of it subserved the purposes of nutrition as was designed, for many cast it, no matter how unwillingly, into the realms of old father Neptune. Many brave-

ly resisted. but few succeeded in their resistance. No courage can hold up against the prostrating power of this condition, which brings upon its victims the jibes and jeers of all who do not feel, or who have never felt it. Most of the marines, poor souls, lay about like so many suits of regimentals stuffed with plastic masses without angles, exhibiting no more of the fire of the soldier than a sick damsel. Stewards and servants sank pliant and resigned about deck, and in snug corners; they heeded no man's bidding; they could not control themselves, and needed not the control of others. One little middy exclaimed in most piteous tones, "Can I take a drink of water and not die! ugh,—oh,—ugh!" Kreosote and chloroform were resorted to as remedies, and they seemed to be beneficial.

Tuesday. The day dawned brightly; the wind was fair. The surface of the sea was smoother. Those who had been overcome by the motion of the ship appeared on deck, looking cheerful but rather pale; their stomachs had become constant and promised to be tolerant of dinner.

On the 18th Feburary, 1848, the ship reached the Navy Yard, Norfolk, Va., where she had been sent because the use of a dry-dock was necessary to ascertain the condition of the copper on her bottom which was suspected to be unsound.

In a few days the ship had been docked and was anchored off the naval hospital.

This is a "sweet craft" to look upon as she rides at her moorings. She has a light spar deck which raises her hammock rail high above water. Her appearance is that of a miniature frigate, and in fact she has many of the advantages of that form of ship, which is admitted to be the most comfortable that sails the ocean. She was originally moulded and built to be a single decked ship or sloop of war; the light spar-deck was an addition not contemplated by the naval architect. Though it may detract something from the sailing, this is compensated for, in a degree, in peaceful times at least, by adding other qualities, of considerable importance especially within tropical regions. This light spar-deck affords shelter to the battery from sunshine and rain; it leaves the guns free from the rigging and ropes of the vessel, and thus facilitates the movement of them; during battle it protects them from falling spars, and gives a free space for "working ship," that is, changing the position of spars and sails as circumstances may require. But above all it increases the capacity of the vessel to carry air for the consumption of the inmates while sleeping; a most important consideration, because all men live upon air, that is, if men can be said to live upon that without which they cannot possibly exist.

When we speak of a single-decked man-of-war ship, we mean a ship which carries a battery on one deck only, upon which the sails as well as the guns are manœuvered. A ship thus constructed is termed a sloop-of-war or corvette. A frigate has two decks upon which the battery is arranged. A ship-of-the-line has three or four decks upon which guns are carried; or, in other words, a sloop-of-war is a floating battery of one story, frigate of two, and a ship-of-the-line of three or four stories. The upper deck, whether it has guns upon it or not, is the spar-deck, and the others are called gun-decks. With this explanation it may be understood how adding a light deck to a vessel, armed and equipped as a sloop of war, increases the space for berthing the crew at night, and in a word converts her into a frigate with the number of men and guns of a sloop.

There she is—her straight spars tapering to points—sails neatly furled and rigging tight, or, as sailors say, "*taught* as a fiddle;" yards bowing upwards; all presenting to the eye on shore the beautiful machine in repose. Not a moving being is seen, but accompany a lieutenant in uniform along side, and scarcely does the bowman lay in his oar, before the shrill pipe of a boatswain's mate announces that your approach has been perceived and your reception prepared for. The sides'-boys leap out to their stations at the head of the "accommodation ladder," which you ascend to the deck, and are met at the gangway by the lieutenant of the watch. As your companion enters the vessel he touches his hat, and the sentry on post "carries arms"; at the same moment the boatswain's mate "pipes in" and the sides'-boys return on board, and you walk aft on the spotless deck. The starboard side of the quarter deck, all that part of the deck abaft the main mast, that is, the centre one of the three, is occupied by the lieutenant of the watch, while the larboard side is promenaded by "school-boy midshipmen" ever ready to repeat the orders of the "officer of the deck," being in fact peripatetic speaking trumpets. As we are preparing for sea, there is to you perhaps an appearance of confusion; provisions and stores are hoisting on board to the sound of the merry fife; a boatswain's mate is piping "haul" or "belay," and this is mixed up with the noise of hammers of carpenters and adzes of coopers. Still the quarter-master saunters about the quarter-deck in a most *insouciant* manner, spy-glass in hand, which he occasionally lifts to his eye and sweeps round to inform himself of all boats that may be approaching the ship. If there be any, he at once reports to the officer of the deck, the grade of those in the boat, which is clearly recognized at a distance by the

uniform dress of the navy, that they may be received with the conventional forms of respect due their rank.

The right side of a ship is called the starboard, and being that of distinction or preference in our navy, is fitted with an "accommodation ladder," or steps leading from the upper deck to the water. The ropes which extend from iron stanchions at its foot to the ship's side above, answer the purpose of bannisters and are technically called "man-ropes," from the French, *main*, hand. The left side is termed the larboard or port. and is supplied with pending man-ropes, and, instead of an accommodation ladder, "kleets" or strips of wood are nailed at convenient distances against the side, as aids in climbing the almost perpendicular ascent. By this gangway, which is, as it were, the back door of the ship, are received all warrant officers, as well as provisions, stores, &c., and by the starboard gangway, or front door, all commissioned officers and others whose temporary appointments entitle them to live in the ward-room, come into and go out of the vessel. Those persons who fill the temporary situations of commodore's secretary, clerks, and formerly professors of mathematics, are called "ship's cousins," from the fact that they were, in by-gone times, regarded as drones, said to be "in every one's mess but in nobody's watch." Our "cousins," however, are comparatively an active set of gentlemen.

This conventional distinction between the two sides of a ship, a few years ago, was a source of considerable annoyance to assistant surgeons, who, though commissioned officers, were quartered among the midshipmen in the steerage. And, because they messed with midshipmen, some martinets would not permit them to pass in and out of the ship by the starboard gangway or front door. The instant this point was insisted upon, they felt it was a degradation to which, in their opinion, they ought not to be exposed. After a great deal of argument and persistance the difficulty was removed by a general order from the Secretary of the Navy, under authority of which they became members of the ward-room mess, and since that time the freedom and ceremonies of the starboard gangway have not been denied to them. But in frigates they were made to suffer, by being transferred to the ward-room from the cock-pit, in which the assistant surgeons customarily formed a separate mess, and had separate cabins, or state-rooms. It was in some way ascertained that, if assistant surgeons were entitled to mess in the ward-room, they had no title to apartments in the cock-pit; and as all the cabins were appropriated in the ward-room, none were substituted for those of which they were deprived to the advantage of passed-midshipmen or others. But the argument, sophistical as it must be, is a respectful apology for the exercise of a questioned and questionable power.

You cast your eyes about. The neatly laced hammocks are snugly stowed all around in a sort of trough or top of the bulwarks, called "the nettings." A hammock is an oblong piece of canvass upon which a sailor's bed is suspended beneath the deck at night; it serves in the day to envelope the whole in a neat roll to be packed in the hammock netting.

More than a quarter of a century since I was attached to a frigate fitting for sea at New York. In those days the grade of passed-midshipmen was not known. The older midshipmen presided among midshipmen on watch, and were termed the master's mates of the watch. The post of master's mate, in the eyes of the steerage, was one of distinction, and therefore desirable. All were anxious to know the names of the midshipmen ordered to the vessel, that they might calculate their chances of becoming master's mates. Every newly arrived midshipman was scrutinized, very closely, the moment he set foot on deck, to gather from his appearance. if possible, how far he was likely to interfere with those who hoped none older would arrive, to exclude them from the post of honor in the watch.

One day, while the steerage messes were dining, down leaped a youngster, almost breathless, and drew a camp-stool up to the table. His countenance was marked by the possession of important intelligence.

"Boys," said he, "I am cut out at any rate. There's an oldster just reported on deck, nearly six feet in his stockings, black whiskers, and devilishly well-dressed. He looks about, too, as if he had always been in a frigate. But we shall hear more soon; our Davy has got him in tow."

Presently down thundered Davy looking like an impersonated laugh.

"What's the fun, Davy?" inquired more than one in the mess.

"Fun enough; that new reefer is all over green, from the backwoods of Kentucky."

"Fine ship, sir," said he to me, carelessly looking aloft, "very taunt and neatly rigged?"

"Very fine ship," said I; "do you admire her aloft?"

"Oh, vastly; seen nothing like it since I left Kentucky?" He was sent for into the cabin; and I came to the conclusion he would turn out to be the best midshipman aboard and out-rank us all. When he emerged from the cabin we began to talk again.

"Is not the ballast of this ship stowed in an unusual place," he asked.

"Ballast," said I, "no, I believe not; I never

heard that our ballast is not in the usual place—under the tanks."

"Why, sir," said he, stopping short in our walk, and pointing with a dandy little cane, "why sir, are not all those white bags of sand, so snugly packed all around the top of the sides, intended for ballast?"

"No sir; they are purser's slops stowed there to catch grape shot," said I, and bolted.

It is not necessary to add that this exhibition of "greenness" was received with roars of laughter. No one imagined that the hammocks could be mistaken for sand-ballast. However. the new reefer became a favorite, and finally died a lieutenant of high professional standing; but he was often asked, during the cruise, "I say, Bill, where do you carry your ballast?"

The bright brass rails around the hatches on the quarter-deck, the belaying-pins, (iron rods about an inch in diameter and two feet long, fixed firmly against the bulwarks) to which the "running rigging" or ropes which change the point of attachment are made fast, always attract the eye. You descend a ladder or flight of steps, made of white-ash, to the gun-deck. The first view of the battery, "the well-reefed guns," of a well-kept ship inspires respect, because one begins almost unconsciously to estimate the destructive capabilities of the implements present and adopt a vague notion of the dormant power of the ship. A closer inspection reveals the priming wires in appropriate racks; rammers and tools for loading, bright cutlasses at hand, and tackling for each gun neatly folded over its breach. Near each piece is a square box of white-ash, filled with cannister and grape-shot; and a battle lanthern is suspended between every two guns to illumine the deck when the fighting takes place at night. The invention of percussion-caps has caused the disappearance of the match-tubes and match-staves which always formed part of the accessories of a man-of-war's battery fifteen years ago.

You walk forward and look at the "galley," and wonder how so small a space can afford the means of cooking for so many men. It is the fashion to ascertain the perfect cleanness of the iron boilers, called "coppers," in which the meats of the crew are boiled, by rubbing them inside with a piece of white paper; if it should be soiled, the cooks and scullions find their performances *encored*. This inspection of the "coppers," in the days when these boilers were of copper, was included among the duties of medical officers; but in modern times it has been ascertained that no more science is required to inspect "the coppers" than to determine the condition of cleanliness of either stewpan or tea-kettle, and therefore those culinary utensils have ceased to be honored by peculiar medical attention and treatment. In those old quaint times in which Von Tromp won distinction on the seas, the cleanliness of the pot was of more scientific importance than the nature and quality of the meats cooked in it; military legislators paid a queer compliment to medical science by requiring its votaries to inspect the coppers while they regarded food beneath their notice or judgment.

The cabin is on the after part of the gun-deck. Though comfortably fitted, you perhaps observe that the drawing-room of the captain wears the livery of war; there are two guns in it.

We again descend to the berth-deck, which is below the level of the water on the outside of the ship. The large apartment extending beneath the Captain's cabin, to the "sternmost" part of the ship, and into which the state-rooms or cabins of the commissioned officers open, is the ward-room. Next "forward" to it are two apartments. the private quarters of the midshipmen, called the starboard, and the port steerages. And now walking forward—stoop a little, or you will hit your head against the beams above—we find on the starboard hand the apartments of the "forward officers," namely, the gunner, boatswain, carpenter and sail-maker; and next adjoining, the dispensary or miniature apothecary shop, in which each bottle has a peculiar rack to secure it against the effects of rolling and pitching of the ship when at sea. In a corresponding position on the port side, are the captain's and the purser's store-rooms. The remainder of the deck is an open space for the accommodation of the crew. Heavy chests, termed "mess-chests," are ranged on either side; sometimes each is surmounted with a pyramid formed of a kid, (a small wooden tub,) and a wooden can, the apex being crowned with a bible. These bibles are generally preserved through the cruise "as good as new." Sometimes they are covered with duck, and white-washed whenever the berth deck undergoes that cleansing process. A senior lieutenant was wont to say, "I like to see the mess-bibles displayed on the berth-deck; it gives the ship such a religious air in the eyes of visiters." I remember a master's mate who was very precise in the arrangements of the berth-deck. One day, just as he was finishing the preparation of the deck for the captain's inspection, he addressed a cook, in an excited tone, "D—n *your* eyes; hav'nt I told you to show no more than one bible on each chest, and be sure that is a clean one."

At the very bows is the store-room, filled with small arms, carpenter's tools, reels of cordage, and indeed every thing that accident on deck might be conjectured to require. All these are arranged in the most convenient manner and with as much regard to taste as the nature of

the articles will permit. This room is in charge of a petty officer called a yeoman, whose duty is to issue the articles under orders of the proper officers and keep a record of the expenditure. Living always by candle-light, and rarely in the open air, stamps a peculiar paleness upon this official which distinguishes him from the rest of the crew.

The space next to each side of the ship, called the "wings," is occupied by a rack for the clothes-bags of the men. Each man has one; it serves all the purposes of trunk or bureau, and contains, besides his clothing, "a ditty bag," which is a small store of thread, tape, buttons, needles, &c., and is not a magazine of sea songs: every thoroughly accomplished sailor is always his own tailor and hatter, and not unfrequently his own shoemaker. The *dillittantte* of Broadway, or Chestnut street, are not more precise in their estimate of the cut and set of garments than true sons of the ocean.

The berth deck receives daylight through the hatches and bull's eye lenses about six inches broad, set in the covers of the air-pots. At sea, when the air-ports are necessarily closed, air is brought down the hatches through long canvas tubes about two feet in diameter, called "wind sails;" but they are not always efficient in ve - tilating either the berth deck, or hold.

Beneath the berth deck, commencing at the bows, are the paint-room, the sail-room, the boatswain's store-room, the coal-hole, the fore-hold, the main-hold, in which provisions are stowed in barrels, and water in iron tanks, each containing from three to six hundred gallons. The chain lockers for the iron cables and shot lockers are in the main hold; next to it aft are the spirit-room, bread-rooms, a purser's store-room, powder magazine and light room, the last three being under the ward-room and only accessible from it. The light room contains the lamp which gives light to the magazine through a thick glass lens or bull's eye fixed in a partition between the two apartments.

Such is an epitome of the ship-world. It has the professions, law, medicine and divinity represented and some of the mechanic arts, but no part of it was ever contemplated for the accommodation of women and children.

March. On the application of their friends, the Secretary of the Navy consented that two missionaries for China, sent out by the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, should be passengers in the ship, provided her commander was willing and able to accommodate them on board. This permission was granted under an impression that only space for two individuals would be required; but including wives and children, the party mustered nine persons, without attendants or servants. All were disappointed to ascertain that they could not be accommodated without altering the internal arrangements of the ship; it would be necessary to dismount two guns, and thus far deduct, for the time, from her military power. The Secretary assented even to this, with the concurrence of the commander, who manifested a cheerful willingness to oblige. The missionaries themselves found on examination of the premises that all parts of the vessel were so fully occupied, that it was impracticable to provide for so many passengers of their class without ejecting the officers of the ship from their proper quarters, and therefore abandoned the idea of embarking in her, though not without regret. Indeed, one of those gentlemen declared, that he was ready to forego the advantages of going to China in a public ship, rather than accept a passage in the Plymouth, if it were to be unpleasant to any officer on board, or if it were likely to form a precedent which might possibly embarrass the action of the Navy Department at some future day.

Simple as this event appears, it is is worth a little consideration. My impressions are derived from conversations with the missionaries and their friends; I do not think, I have mistaken their views; I certainly have no wish to misrepresent them.

A passage in the Plymouth was not sought, because it would be free. Expense was not feared. But it was presumed that being fellow passengers in a vessel of war with the Hon. ——, U. S. Commissioner to China, the missionaries would appear before the Chinese as individuals under the special protection of the government, and that their being so regarded would facilitate the path of their religious labors. Besides, a passage in a public armed ship being granted by the Navy Department, would impart to the Methodist missionaries a sort of pre-eminence over those of other Christian sects, and mark them as enjoying specially the favor of the government of the United States. It is only fair to conjecture that the gentlemen who entertained these views did not perceive that they are chargeable with a certain degree of moral obliquity. They did not perceive that to so contrive or arrange circumstances, true in themselves, as to convey false impressions to men, is inconsistent with Christian honesty and frankness. But I leave the moral to look at the political aspect of the subject.

Religious toleration is among the most admirable of our political institutions. Any act which tends to invade this principle, even in the remotest degree, deserves the serious attention of every American.

Our political Constitution provides that "no

religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States;" and that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In these clear declarations, is included the idea that no officer or branch of the federal government can, consistently with the spirit of the Constitution, do any act which, directly or indirectly, either favors or discourages the religious views of any sect whatever. As the national legislature, under the constitution, can make no law to establish or prohibit the observance of religious opinions or ceremonies, the Executive branch of the government cannot permit, without violating the spirit of the organic law, the followers of one or even of all sects, to make use of our national ships, or other national means, to aid them in the propagation of their respective religious creeds. If the Executive were to permit, or to enjoin upon, the commanders of our public ships to convey religious missionaries of the Methodist, or any other Christian sect, to the field of their labors, the permission or order would be not only without the sanction of law, but contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, which would be thus far set at defiance, by the assumption of a power forbidden to be exercised. As Congress can make no law respecting the establishment of religion, it follows that the Executive should do no act which is designed wholly, or in part, to assist in the establishment or propagation of religious tenets.

Until the constitution be altered in this respect, it will be safer for us all, and more patriotic in the members of every Christian sect, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, to refrain from asking anything from the government which can possibly be construed, to signify special protection or favor, for the sect which may obtain it. Let the principle of religious toleration be jealously guarded from invasion, by each, and by all sects: favors granted to one may be, perchance, at the expense of others, and ultimately become the means of establishing a religious creed for the government, and even a religious test for the officers of the government.

—

CHAPTER II.

Sail from Norfolk—Ship-of-the-line Columbus—Letter-bag of the pilot—Uncomfortable night—Sunday on board of a Man-of-war—Chaplains—Military men—Rotundity of the earth—Man-of-war auction—Lucky-bag—Taking of Tobasco—Life at sea—Ventilation of ships; its importance—Want of light—Water—Drilling men to endure thirst—Naval ration—Advantages of commuting rations.

March 8th, 1848. All our preparations for sea have been completed. About three o'clock, P. M., the Plymouth was got underway; and a few minutes before sunset passed the ship-of-the-line Columbus, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Biddle, lying at anchor in Hampton Roads. This vessel had just returned from a voyage of circumnavigation after an absence of three years. The commodore's pendant was saluted with thirteen guns; and as we swept rapidly past, a few friendly words were interchanged. Almost immediately the crews of the two vessels ascended the shrouds and "cheered ship," thus mingling in a mighty shout a welcome, a farewell and a God-speed.

Very soon a change of wind required our ship to be anchored about a mile from the Columbus. In the evening, a party of us visited our friends on board of her, and congratulated them on the termination of an arduous cruise. It is the experienced only who can fully appreciate the joyousness of feeling, which glows in the heart on reaching home after a three years' absence, when all hopes and fears are satisfactorily ended.

That night thought and affection were active in our ship. There is some intelligence under tarpaulin hats, and kind feelings beneath blue jackets: what else could have filled a portly little letter bag, which the pilot carried ashore the next day? What if the superscriptions of some of the folded papers were in crabbed hands, straggling irregularly and almost illegibly down their backs; hearts whose owners exhibit greater knowledge of scholar-craft and caligraphy, could not beat more kindly than did those of the authors of these said cramped looking documents, while their stiff fingers handled the pen instead of a capstan bar. If all contained in that little bag were revealed, no one would deny that deep affection sometimes wells up from the sturdy hearts of weather-beaten mariners.

March 9th. The pilot took leave of us about three o'clock, P. M. The setting sun left us far out of sight of land, steering to the eastward with a fair wind.

March 10th. Sea very rough, breeze fresh and fair, the motion of the ship very considerable, although easy. The neophytes are prostrate with sea-sickness; the decks are wet, and the vessel presents scenes of distress from stem to stern. The condition of the ship was more disagreeable at night. The rudder-coat, a piece of canvas which closes the space around the rudder where it passes through a hole in the stern, had been omitted. Whenever the bows were tossed upwards, the stern settled or squatted,

and lifted barrels of water through the rudder-hole into the ward-room, deluging every thing. Barrels, boxes, and bags of stores not yet secured in place, broke adrift and were flying from side to side, amid the swash of water, the crash of crockery and glass. Men were employed all night baling and swabbing and making things snug. To those who were sea-sick, the night seemed perilous, and was passed wretchedly no doubt. But the ship, obedient to direction, was flying before the wind, and plunging across the Gulf Stream towards the east.

The next day our condition was somewhat improved, but there was no change upon the surface of the ocean; the wind had not varied.

Sunday, March 12th. The weather has moderated; the sea is smoother. The sea-sick have stomachs more tolerant, and now begin to believe in the propriety of breakfast.

A Maryland negro servant, almost blanched from sea-sickness, was lounging over the breach of a gun, wearing the aspect of entire despondence. An old tar observed him, and thus expressed his commiseration—"It's no use, my boy; you should have staid at home; you could do better hoeing corn than going to sea: but you are in for't now, and must make the best on it; so take yourself off that gun, and get ready for prayers." There is some intelligence, as I said before, under tarpaulin hats.

A ship of war is a world within itself; and though it is very little, it claims to be, under our flag, a Christian world. Sunday is observed as a day of rest, as far as practicable, and all are cleanly dressed in token of its observance. Immediately after breakfast, if the weather is fine, men make their toilet, which is as much controlled at sea by the tyrant fashion as on shore; the cut of trowsers, set of the duck frock, the tie of the neckerchief, and neatness of the pump, are as much objects of fashionable consideration among sailors, as various parts of costume are among our city beaux and belles. Vanity of personal appearance is not much injured by exposure to sea air, though differently manifested. The toilet complete, the lieutenants assemble the companies, or "divisions," under their respective command for inspection; and about ten o'clock A. M., the crew is mustered on the quarter-deck, and those who may be absent, through illness, or special employment, are accounted for. When there is a chaplain on board, the Episcopal service is generally read and a sermon preached. On these occasions, the capstan, covered by a flag, becomes a desk or pulpit, and a shot-box serves to elevate the preacher above the level of his auditors. They stand around him when not accommodated with seats, and are, seemingly if not really, profoundly attentive. Religious ceremonies on the desk of a man-of-war are quite imposing, partaking somewhat of the military tone or spirit which pervades the community. There is perhaps a stern precision in the formality of religious observance here, which does not find place in our churches. When the weather is moderate, there is something more than ordinarily impressive in the assemblage of officers and crew of an armed cruizer, standing uncovered on the quarter deck engaged in religious worship. The perfect stillness which prevails is made palpable by the gentle, rippling sounds caused by the motion of the ship through the water, or by the dashing of spray from the bows. There is rarely noise enough to distract attention from the object of the meeting. All the circumstances are favorable to the powers of eloquence in moving the heart. But unfortunately eloquence is rarely present to avail of the circumstances; naval chaplains are not generally distinguished as pulpit orators or profound theologians: their piety and zealous devotion to their duties are not to be questioned.

There was no clergyman attached to our ship. But the commander's clerk, a gentleman of exemplary piety, officiated and read the church service.

Here from amidst preparations for violence and deeds of blood; from amidst glittering bayonets, girded swords and sullen looking cannon, are heard exhortations to mildness, meekness, justice and mercy, and the command "Thou shalt do no murder." How striking is the contrast between the teachings of the Saviour and these unmistakeable preparations. Yet upon them we are taught, in military communities, to invoke God's blessing, and through it, to crown our arms with victory without regard to the cause of war. But the time has not yet come when the sword can be converted into a pruning hook; until the whole earth is obedient to Christian principles, no nation can safely dispense with mititary establishments. Even the ministers of the gospel included in military organizations are clothed in military badges and are imbued with military spirit.* They are members of commu-

* Navy Uniform Regulations :—"Chaplain's coat. To be of dark *blue* cloth, with rolling collar of black velvet; in other respects like the undress coats of the lieutenants."

"Chaplains shall wear a *black* coat, with black velvet collar, with the navy button now in use. (They need not, however, provide themselves with new coats, until those they now have are worn out.) While performing religious services on the Sabbath, or on other occasions, on board vessels of war, or at yards and shore stations, they shall wear the black silk gown usually worn by clergymen." January 20, 1844.

"The Regulation of the 20th January, 1844, prescri-

nities which observe peculiar customs; and not to wear such habiliments as are common to their daily associates, would mark them as singularly as the clergyman in civil life who should depart entirely from the customs and costume of his fellow-citizens.

8 *o'clock, P. M.* The night is beautiful; the ocean is lighted by moon and stars. The motion of the vessel is easy, and the sea-sick are reviving and looking up with hope; but the wind has hauled against us, and to avoid the islands of Bermuda, distant sixty miles by our reckoning, we have tacked ship, and are now standing towards the north under easy sail. The unlucky fate of the U. S. ship Boston on the rocks or island of Eleuthera should be a warning to all navigators.

Monday, March 13th. A clear sky, a pleasant breeze and smooth sea. The carpenters are at work. A few of the officers are seated on the gun deck reading. There are several vessels in sight, but no one of them near enough to afford us data for conjecturing her destination. Among them we hope one may be the bearer of news from us to our friends. The scene brings up the memory of our school days and of our geographical studies, for we have before us a proof of the rotundity of the earth; the loftiest sails of the vessels around us are distinctly visible, but their hulls are sunk below our horizon.

The morning was enlivened by an auction at the gangway, which is always a source of amusement and interest to a majority on board. Man-of-war auctions are the means of disposing of the clothes, &c., of the dead men and deserters, and take place whenever they accumulate to a certain quantity. The contents of the "lucky bag" are also exposed upon these occasions. Stray jackets, hats, and articles of any description, left about the decks or in forbidden corners, are picked up and absorbed by the "lucky bag," which is in immediate charge of the master-at-arms. When articles find their entrance to this public receptacle, they cannot be recovered until the day of general exposition; therefore the lucky-bag is a terror to the heedless, and thus becomes one of the instruments for promoting neatness about a ship's lower decks. When the lucky-bag is opened, the attention of all who have lost any thing during the preceding few weeks is strongly attracted; and if the owner claims his property, when held up to view by the master-at-arms, he is sure to be greeted by shouts and jests from the bystanders. Those who cannot bear a joke, sometimes bid for their own goods rather than submit to it.

These auctions differ from the same institution on shore, although they may be adduced as proof that a man-of-war is a community within itself. On shore an auction is the goal or forlorn hope of the unsuccessful and unfortunate in trade, who give their property to the highest bidder, to raise money at short notice. People are attracted to them for the sake of gain, to procure property at a rate below its current value. An auction is an evidence of civilization and a populous neighborhood. But on ship-board an auction is instituted to relieve the purser from the care of dead men's and deserter's clothes, which are thus converted into cash, or what is the same thing here, into accounts.

In the evening we sat long round the tea-table. The naval operations against Mexico furnished a theme of conversation. One of our mess was at the taking of Tobasco; and he related his adventures and observations. Substantially his story was as follows:

"The weather was oppressively hot. I landed with the party through the surf, armed with a cutlass, a brace of pistols, a rifle, three days' provisions and a bottle of cold coffee. A man's ability to fight depends on the strength of his stomach, and if that is empty he makes a poor show. I have no opinion of grog on these occasions; those fared the worst who had the most of it in their canteens. Give me water or coffee.

"After marching about two miles over a rough road under a hot sun, pretty well loaded with arms and provisions, I was ordered back to hunt for ammunition, which, it was supposed, our own troops had thrown into the bushes to lighten the march. I returned to the bivouac without obtaining any thing. Water was in great demand. My bottle of coffee did me good service; and to make it hold out, I filled it from time to time with muddy water. The army again took up the line of march under an order to shoot the first man who should leave the ranks. But on coming in sight of a stream, eleven hundred men broke and plunged into it like mad; nature set discipline at defiance, and who could find it in his heart to shoot men because they were thirsty on piping hot tramp? Some twenty or thirty, overcome by heat and fatigue, sank down by the road side and gave up. It was fun to see the difficulty the doctors had to turn these poor fellows face up. Each soldier had a musket strapped over his back, and when he gave up

bing a uniform for chaplains in the Navy, is so modified, that, in performing divine service, the chaplain may, in his discretion, wear a black gown, a plain black coat, or the uniform coat prescribed by that regulation." April 23, 1844.

"*All* commissioned officers in the Navy *may* wear a double-breasted blue frock coat with rolling collar, nine buttons on each side, and the usual number of buttons on the cuffs and folds and shoulder straps, according to their respective grades."

Some chaplains avail themselves of this permission.

from exhaustion, he laid down on his face, and the musket prevented him from turning over.

"On approaching Tobasco, firing was heard from our vessels in the river. Its sudden cessation announced to the invading land force that she place was taken. In order to keep as cool at possible, I landed in a pair of linen drawers and a linen coat, which had not improved in appearance by the dirt and rips and tears acquired on the road; you may imagine I did not feel perfectly, satisfied with my toilet on marching into the town now occupied almost exclusively by women; the men had run away and left them to their fate. It began to rain hard. To get under cover we fired a six pound shot into the door of the palace and entered it. This was a signal for a general rush, and the doors of all the houses on the square were broken in.

"In our first attack on this place I was in the maintop of the brig. The Tobasco is a deep, tranquil stream, winding between high banks, and as the vessels ascended, we expected to be fired upon at every turn of the river. From my position in the top I overlooked the whole country, which seemed to be deserted; not a Mexican could I see far or near. But as the fleet was turning an angle of the stream, two shots were fired from the shore. One of them took effect on a seaman's ankle, and the other closely grazed the life of a midshipman, the ball carrying a bunch of oakum before it into his pantaloons. He refused to unbutton his breeches, because he believed the shot had given escape to his intestines, and he did not wish to spill them. But in fact he was more frightened than hurt. Instantaneously on the report of the Mexican guns, we opened our fire in all directions. The shot flew so thickly about the brig's top, that I thought they surely came from the hands of the enemy; I hope never to have shot flying about my ears in that manner again. However, when the smoke cleared off a little, I discovered that all the firing was on our side, and the country was as clear of Mexicans as ever. In one of the boats there was a piece of artillery. The officer in command of it, fearing it might not do sufficient execution, added to the previous round shot and stand of grape, a bag of a hundred musket balls. It was fired with tremendous results, for it drove the gun through the bottom of the craft, and set the crew to swimming and scrambling to get into the nearest boats.

"After the place was taken, there was something done on a small scale in the way of plunder. As the expedition descended the river, parties frequently landed and brought off poultry, bullocks, &c., which they seized upon wherever found. Our caterer was particularly successful in catching turkeys, and furnished the mess with an abundant supply.

"I thought it all fine fun, and often regretted we had not had a fair opportunity for a fight. But, nevertheless, on reaching home, I found myself a hero in the newspapers; of course I never insinuate that I have not killed many a Mexican fighting hand to hand."

The Mexican war afforded the Navy no opportunity for brilliant achievement; but it rendered important services, which were irksome and fatiguing, and of a kind to tire the patience and break down men, to a greater extent than fierce engagements on the sea. The Navy, however, gathered few laurels in this war; but if all those won in past years have somewhat faded from our memories, a gentle touch by a truly artistic hand could make them as fresh and green as ever.

March 14th. At noon the latitude was 34° 25′ north, and the longitude 61° 26′ west. Last evening at nine o'clock the breeze was pleasant, a light scud from the southward hung upon the horizon. The barometer stood at 30.43 inches. This morning at nine o'clock, (twelve hours later,) the barometer had fallen to 29.40 inches. From that hour the wind gradually increased and the sea rose, so that at two o'clock P. M., the sails of the ship were reduced to close-reefed topsails and reefed foresail. Although easy, the motions of the ship were extensive. The gale continued during the afternoon and evening, varied by heavy gusts of wind and torrents of rain. By six o'clock P. M., the barometer had risen to 30. inches and the wind had hauled to the southward and westward. All parts of the ship were flooded; in the ward-room a watch was kept to bale-up the water which entered through the rudder coat.

Landsmen who have never been afloat do not appreciate the privations and discomforts of life at sea, either in men-of-war or merchantmen. They cannot acquire an adequate notion of the exposure, risk, and labor of reefing a heavy topsail, of a dark night in the midst of a pelting storm of wind and rain. In cold regions where the sails and ropes are rigid from ice and sleet, men are not unfrequently more than an hour hanging over the yard, and toiling to get a single sail properly reefed. Any contrivance which will enable men to reef sails without going aloft, will add greatly to their comfort and remove one of the risks of life at sea.*

Vessels of war are so constructed that officers, (except while on watch,) live almost entirely by

* Mr. H. D. P. Cunningham, R. N., has patented a plan of reefing a ship's sails from the deck; the apparatus is said to be of moderate cost, and to perform the work very rapidly and satisfactorily. April, 1851.

candle-light, in an atmosphere contaminated by exhalations from the hold, the spirit-room, and the various kinds of food included under the term "provisions and stores." Every thing is damp. The decks are almost constantly wet, and every thing is in motion. In rainy weather, when the hatches are closed, wind-sails cannot be used for ventilating the interior of the vessel. There is no change or renewal of the air. The atmosphere, from the respiration of many persons below, and the combustion of lamps and candles, loses so much of its oxygen, that lights burn dimly after a short time. In warm climates especially, exhalations from human bodies contaminate the vapor which is diffused through the sleeping-berths of the ship. The idea of it alone is disgusting. But the disgust and discomfort are really trifling compared to the positive injury ships suffer in health and efficiency from this cause. Few of us on shore are aware that it is a luxurious blessing to dine in day light, surrounded by a pure atmosphere: still fewer of us estimate the effects of habitually breathing a scanty or deteriorated air. Men generally do not even suspect that health, and the duration of life, are influenced by the quality and quantity of material supplied for respiration.

Like all other animals, birds, beasts, and fishes, as well as plants and every organic being in the universe, we depend for existence on the air; to its influence over animals all nourishment is secondary. There can be no life without it. The warmth of our bodies, the activity of our senses, our ability to receive and communicate knowledge, depend upon supplies of air adequate in quantity to supply the consumption involved in the maintenance of healthy vital action. Air once breathed is not fit to be breathed again; in the process of respiration it is changed, consumed; its residuum, after passing through the lungs, is no more suited to be used again in the maintenance of life, than are the ashes and cinders of a furnace for maintaining the action of a steam engine.

There is no one thing of the whole creation that does not excite the astonishment of man by the wisdom and simplicity of its adaptation to the purposes for which it was created. Among all created things there is nothing more worthy of study and admiration than the atmospheric air in its relations both to organized beings and inorganic brute matter. The laws which have been laid down for its government, in its motions, as the gentle zephyr or all-destroying typhoon, in its sources of supply to compensate for deterioration through the respiration of animals of the land and sea, and of plants, are not yet understood. But we know that without air the human voice would be hushed; there would be no sound, no harmony, no music: flowers would cease to impart their fragrance, and odours would be exhaled no longer to annoy or to warn us. Take away the air and all organic functions must cease; both the animal and vegetable worlds would be blotted out, our fires would be extinguished and even the process of decay would be arrested, for putrefaction and decomposition in animal and vegetable substances cannot go on *in vacuo*—that is, without the presence of atmospheric air or one of its constituents, called oxygen. Nevertheless, in men-of-war this precious air, free and pure as it is on the bosom of the ocean, comes to us often limited in quantity or impure in quality, and freighted with "villainous smells." The means of thoroughly ventilating ships, under all circumstances, has not been ascertained; its importance to health, and economy, and comfort, has not been fully estimated by naval architects.

"Breathe not the chaos of eternal smoke
And vofatile corruption from the dead,
The dying, sick'ning, and the living world
Exhal'd to sully heaven's transparent dome
With dim mortality. It is not Air
That from a thousand lungs reeks back to thine,
Sated with exhalations rank and fell,
The spoil of dunghills, and the putrid thaw
Of nature; when from shape and texture she
Relapses into fighting elements:
It is not Air, but floats a nauseous mass
Of all obscene, corrupt, offensive things."*

It was found by measurement that the birth-deck or sleeping apartment of the crew of this ship can contain at one time 12,154 cubic feet of atmosphere, which supply is for the breathing of about a hundred sleepers, and to maintain the combustion of the galley fire and several lamps which are necessarily burned constantly. It is estimated that every man consumes ten cubic feet of atmospheric air per minute; and 350 cubic feet of atmosphere, ten of which should be changed or renewed every minute, are necessary for healthy existence. On this basis it will be perceived that this berth deck affords atmosphere for about thirty persons, provided that it can be changed at the rate of at least 300 cubic feet per minute. These data are sufficient to show how much the subject of ventilation has been overlooked by naval architects, whose attention is directed chiefly to providing space for storing provisions, &c., in combination with fleetness. The quantity of respirable air a ship should carry has not entered into the calculation, although it is an essential element of health, and therefore of efficiency. I hope this note may be a means of directing attention to the subject.

* Armstrong. The Art of Preserving Health.

Among the privations to which officers are subject on board men-or-war is want of light. A lamp swings constantly over the mess-table, and it is rare that candles can be dispensed with in the cabins or state-rooms either day or night. It is not agreeable to be obliged to resort to artificial illumination whenever one reads, writes, dresses or eats, during three years.

Next to air and light, water may be regarded among the articles of essential interest. Water cannot be always as good in quality and abundant in quantity, as is often desired on board ships. But in the past thirty years so much improvement has taken place in the internal accommodations or arrangements of our ships, that there is very much less suffering from want of water than in former times, when wooden casks only were used to contain it. Now we have iron tanks fashioned to fit the shape of the vessel's hold, so that a larger quantity can be carried. If water is quite pure when obtained, it keeps well; but sometimes the tanks become foul by deposits from muddy water, and sometimes too, the laquer or glaze spread upon their internal surface to protect it from oxidation, is destroyed by the action of sea-water, which is occasionally pumped into them for the sake of preserving the trim of the ship. This should never be done without urgent reasons; it may be necessary in gales to preserve the ship, or to increase her speed in chasing or running from an enemy.

Pure, tasteless water cannot always be procured. As a general rule, fresh rivers furnish the best water for keeping on board ship. After depositing the mud and matters of fermentation, or putrefaction, which result from the animal and vegetable substances commonly mingled in it, river water becomes colorless and free from taste and odour. It does not generally contain much lime or other mineral substances in solution. But this is not always the case. Water from some rivers put into casks assumes the hue and consistence of a strong infusion of flax seed, becomes "ropy," and so offensive in odour, that it is necessary to hold the nose to enable one to swallow it. Water obtained from springs near the sea shore undergoes a similar change. The water of the Canton river is supposed to induce nephritic complaints; the Chinese prefer not to use it except in form of tea. To correct the taste and odour of water on board ship, charcoal or alum, in small quantity, is sometimes thrown into it. The latter article is almost in universal use about Canton to correct the bad qualities of the river water. Drinking water taken up from along side vessels at anchor in fresh water rivers within the tropics, is considered a prolific cause of fatal diseases of the bowels.* The influence of water on health is acknowledged by almost every traveller.

The propriety of using good water at discretion is never questioned on land, except in certain desert, dry regions. Prolonged thirst becomes agony. A scant supply of water for a considerable period exercises a prejudicial influence on health; it is reckoned among the powerfully predisposing causes of scurvy among seamen. Nevertheless, it is asserted, there are gallant captains and commanders who seriously believe that drinking water beyond a very small measure is an idle habit which sailors should be taught to avoid. They urge that men on board ship can be disciplined to endure thirst, by restricting them always to a very small quantity of water. As a general rule, the estimated measure for each man on board, is one gallon daily for all purposes, to which fresh or sweet water is applied, (except those of the laundry,) and it is usually found to be sufficient at sea as an average allowance. It is not enough when the temperature ranges above 80° F., or unusual labor and exercise induce free perspiration. Animal fluids lost through the skin, must be replaced by supply through the medium of the stomach. Yet there is one captain who acts on the opinion that a half gallon is always enough. Even while lying in the port of Havana he restricted the daily allowance to that quantity for each officer and man; he ordered positively that no more should be brought on board, or furnished at private expense. Under his command water was sold and cheerfully bought at fifty cents the bottle. He argued that men must be drilled to privations, or they would never learn to bear them. It is only justice to add, he did not except himself from the rule, or allot to himself a larger quantity of water than to any other person; but he preferred as a common beverage the light wines of France and Germany. Carrying his absurd theory into practice has caused both

"In ordinary times, it is known that troops who have drank water polluted with animal or vegetable matter in a state of decomposition are peculiarly subjected to dysentery."—*Report by the Board of Health on the supply of water to the Metropolis. London*, 1850.

"The first fatal case of Cholera that I met with was that of a master of a vessel at Gravesend. He was a fine man, in the prime of life, and in perfect health when he left London. He was going to the Baltic; he drank rather freely overnight parting with his owners and others, and he got up in the morning and drank heartily from one of the water-casks, which had just been filled with Thames' water; he was soon after attacked with purging and vomiting. I went down post and found him just dead. I asked particulars, and I found that the death was so sudden, that it almost appeared as if he had taken poison in the water."—*Testimony of Surgeon Challice. Idem.*

officers and men to execrate him. It should not be doubted that rational beings will submit to privations, when they understand the necessity or cause which imposes them, while unusual restrictions, the object of which is not clearly perceived, might provoke the same persons to murmur, if not to actual mutiny. There is a moral in that passage of the facetious Joe Miller's works which relates the history of a horse whose life was sacrificed in acquiring, for his master's interests, the economical habit of eating no more than a single straw as his entire food for the day.

In the year 1800, the French government despatched an expedition to examine the southern regions of the Indian Seas, under the command of Captain Nicholas Baudin, who appears to have been an ignorant, self-sufficient martinet.

Mr. George Ord, in his Memoir of Charles Alexander Lesueur, one of the naturalists of the expedition, says,—"There was one part of Captain Baudin's deportment which is inexplicable, and that was his total disregard of those sanitary instructions which had been prepared for him by order of the French government, especially in reference to means of preventing that dreadful disease, the scurvy. The conduct of Captain Flinders on this head, affords a striking contrast. Both were engaged in similar explorations in the same seas; both put into Port Jackson for supplies the same season; the crew of one reduced to the extremity of misery by sickness and want, that of the other in such a state of health—every man doing duty upon deck—that their vigor was the subject of general observation." "There was not a single individual on board who was not upon deck working ship into the harbor; and it may be averred that the officers and crew were, generally speaking, in better health than on the day we sailed from Spithead, and not in less good spirits."*

In this connection the following observations, in Surgeon White's Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales, are worthy of attention: they are quoted here from Mr. Ord's excellent Memoir of Lesueur.

"Were it by any means possible, people subject to long voyages should never be put on a short allowance of water; for I am satisfied a liberal use of it, (where freed from the foul air, and made sweet by a machine now in use on board of his majesty's navy,) will tend to prevent a scorbutic habit, as much, if not more, than any thing we are acquainted with. My own experience in the navy has convinced me, that when scorbutic patients are restrained in the use of water, (which I believe is never the case but through absolute necessity,) and they have nothing to live on but the ship's provision, all the antiseptics and anti-scorbutics we know of will avail very little in a disease so much to be guarded against, and dreaded by seamen. In one of his Majesty's ships, I was liberally supplied with that powerful anti-scorbutic, essence of malt; we had also, sour-krout; and besides these, every remedy that could be compressed in the small compass of a medicine-chest; yet, when necessity forced us to a short allowance of water, although, aware of the consequences, I freely administered the essence, &c., as a preservative, the scurvy made its appearance with such hasty and rapid strides, that all attempts to check it proved fruitless, until good fortune threw a ship in our way, who spared us a sufficient quantity of water to serve the sick with as much as they could use, and to increase the ship's allowance to the seamen. This fortunate and very seasonable supply, added to the free use of the essence of malt, &c., which I had before strictly adhered to, made in a few days so sudden a change for the better in the poor fellows, who had been covered with ulcers and livid blotches, that every person on board was surprised at it; and in a fortnight after, when we put into port, there was not a man in the ship, though, at the time we received the water, the gums of some of them were formed into such a fungus as nearly to overlap the teeth, but what had every appearance of health."*

The notion that it is necessary to drill men to suffer is not confined to exercising them on a short allowance of water. Some few commanders, in cultivation of the martyr-spirit, prohibit live stock, fresh vegetables or meats on board, even for the officers' messes, on the pretence that those articles interfere with the perfect tidiness of the ship. The health of officers and men is sometimes risked, and their comfort sacrificed for superfluous polish of wood and iron in sight on deck. Cleanliness is essential, and should extend to the darkest and least frequented parts of the vessel; but when one is deprived of dinner, to avoid soiling the plates, the virtue of cleanliness runs to excess, and thus becomes converted into a vice.

Suffering unnecessarily from thirst and for the want of fresh vegetable and animal food afloat cannot be advantageous to the government's interests. Those ships in which water is given at discretion, and live stock, fresh vegetables and fruit are permitted, are usually more efficient than those in which all are drilled to privations. At any rate the crews are happier, and commanders and officers are regarded with more affection and respect. A captain cannot advance his own interests, nor benefit the general government by depriving men under his command of

* A Voyage to Terra Australis, vol. 1, p. 226.

* White's Journal, p. 34. London, 1790, 4to.

such reasonable comforts, and even luxuries, as they may procure at their own cost.

The naval ration is established by law, and its composition prescribed in detail. It constitutes a part of the sailor's compensation; and, according to the spirit of the law, he is entitled to all its parts, for the law provides that when necessity compels a commander to withhold any part of it, the sailor shall be paid for such part at an established rate.* It sometimes happens on foreign stations that all the articles which constitute the legal ration cannot be procured. In such cases the law provides that one article may be substituted for the other in quantities regulated by the established scale of prices. Under this law the spirit part of the ration may be commuted for money. Officers always commute the entire ration at twenty cents. It has been ascertained that ten rations, economically used, furnish enough food for twelve men. On this account it is a common practice for a mess of twelve or fifteen to commute two rations and receive money for them at the end of the month. In this way a mess may obtain a revenue of twelve dollars monthly to be expended for such articles, as fruit, fresh vegetables, &c., when in port, as are not included in the ration. This practice is advantageous both to the men and the government.

Most persons find a uniform diet, continued for any considerable period, very irksome; and, in time, that change becomes absolutely necessary for the preservation of appetite and health. It is easy to imagine then that a supply of green vegetables and fresh fruits is extremely grateful to seamen who have fed for six or eight weeks at sea chiefly on salted meats. The luxury of such change in diet is somewhat enhanced by a free discretion in its selection, which results from the practice of commuting rations. It needs no argument to show that, under judicious regulation, a mess may obtain many comforts and even luxuries from the proceeds of commuted rations with advantage to health and cheerfulness.

Superiority among ships of war, which are equal in all other respects, belongs to that one whose capacity for carrying provisions is greatest. This quality enables her to keep at sea, which is particularly necessary when employed in blockade, or when lying in wait for the enemy. Vessels of small capacity might be forced to abandon their position for want of provisions and water, perhaps at the very moment when their continued presence was most important to success; or, if the stay should be prolonged through a very much reduced allowance, the crews would become enfeebled, sickly and disabled, and become an easy conquest of the less skilful but better fed seamen of the enemy. It must not be overlooked that battles are won by intelligence, muscular strength and endurance, and these qualities can be preserved in the highest possible condition only by a perfect digestion of an ample supply of proper food. The steam engine works with a force, all things being equal, proportioned to the capacity of the furnace to consume fuel; and so the power of mind and body depends upon the capacity of the stomach to digest. Food is the fuel which keeps the human machine in operation, and, under equal circumstances, he is the best soldier who has the strongest powers of digestion and nutrition. Hence the success of an army depends as much upon the state of the commissariat as upon the condition of the powder magazine and ordnance.*

When the supply of provisions and water is exhausted on board ship it must be replenished. The vessel must go into some foreign port or return home to be filled up. To avoid the latter alternative, store-ships are employed, and depôts are established on foreign stations from which our vessels procure whatever they require. The expenses of these store-vessels, or freight, and of agencies, store-house rent, losses by leakage, breakage and decay are additional to the cost of provisions at home. It may be safely estimated that rations furnished on foreign stations, whether purchased in the foreign market or transported thither, cost the treasury on an average of from twenty to twenty-five per cent more than in the United States.

A ship with a crew of 200 men requires 12,000 rations to keep the sea during sixty days, when a ration is issued for each man; but if two rations be commuted in every mess of twelve men the same quantity of provisions will enable her to remain out of port 71 days. Practically the commutation of rations increases the capacity of

* An act to establish and regulate the navy ration, Approved August 29, 1842, provides "That the navy ration shall consist of the following daily allowance of provisions for each person: One pound of salted pork, with a half pint of peas or beans; or one pound of salted beef, with a half pound of flour, and a quarter of a pound of raisins, dried apples or other fruits; or one pound of salted beef, with a half pound of rice, two ounces of butter, and two ounces of cheese, together with fourteen ounces of biscuit, one quarter of an ounce of tea, or one ounce of coffee, or one ounce of cocoa; two ounces of sugar and one gill of spirits; and of a weekly allowance of half a pound of pickles or cranberries, half a pint of molasses and a half pint of vinegar.

"Fresh meats may be substituted for salt beef or pork, and vegetables or sour crout for the other articles usually issued with the salted meats, allowing one and a quarter pounds of fresh meat for one pound of salted beef or pork, and regulating the quantity of vegetables or sour crout, so as to equal the value of those articles for which they may be substituted."

* La Destinée des nations depend de la manière dont elles se nourrissent."—*Brillat.*

the vessel to carry provisions, and consequently diminishes the quantity, required to be placed in depôt abroad, about fifteen per cent. It is doubtful whether the weight of the ration could be reduced without inconvenience, because in the small messes of four or five it would not satisfy the demand. For the reasons alluded to, it seems judicious to preserve the ration, and to encourage commutation.

—

CHAPTER III.

An old record; Troubles about a cot; First impressions; Steerage treatment of sea-sickness; Holy-stoning; Jack at breakfast; Reckoning of time at sea; Sick-list; How to make it twelve o'clock; Serving-grog; Can the spirit-ration be dispensed with?; Who shall decide?; Quantity not enough to do harm; "Splicing the main brace;" Grog a panacea; Intoxication defined; How alcoholic poison causes death; Diseases caused by excessive use of alcohol; How regarded by life-insurance companies; How the question would be solved by a ballot; Wear of the animal machine; Object of digestive organs; Elementary constituents; Animal heat; Its uniformity under different circumstances; Fuel for animals; Combustion; The animal furnace; The use of blood discs; The use of the liver; Why a mixed diet is necessary for man; Composition of Alcohol; Sugar and oil; Hydrogen; Sense of fatigue; Comparative influence of beer-drinking on brick-making; Use of spirit in sustaining men under great fatigue; Under mental labor; in Cold; in Heat; As a protection against malaria; Moderate use of Alcohol; Useful as medicine; Moral effect of abolishing grog; Prevalence of drunkenness among privates in the navy; Conclusions; Water-filters and air-substitutes for grog; Spirits not a corrective of bad water; Opinion of Commodore Stewart; Iron tanks useful in the preservation of water.

In connection with the inconveniences of life at sea, I think I may present the following record without any risk of a charge of plagiary. It was made very many years ago; but is as applicable now as it was then.

"You can scarcely conceive the many things I had to learn on entering upon my new life on board ship—for it certainly is a new life. Had I been told of all the little matters annoying in their nature that I might expect to encounter, I doubt whether I should have believed, and if I had believed, I would have remained on shore.

"When I first came on board, the first lieutenant told me I must sleep in a cot, and an officer standing by said, 'let it be a large one, that you may be comfortable.' Three days were allowed me to make my preparations for sea; on the third I crossed Brooklyn ferry with all my baggage on a porter's cart, and I was about proceeding up the street, when I met an officer of the ship, who stopped, and with a look of amazement and jocularity cried, 'What do you intend doing with that cross-legged machine with the canvass nailed over it?'

"'That is my *cot*; and it is the largest I could find in New York;—you told me a large one would be most comfortable,' said I, in perfect simplicity. At this his countenance swelled, and at last he burst out into a hearty laugh, for which I was at a loss to account, as my acquaintance with the gentleman did not warrant him to take liberties; in fact I felt disposed to be a little angry.

"The officer having suppressed his laughter with difficulty, said, 'My dear fellow, you must send that shore-cot of yours back.' Here he laughed again, and I asked why I must send it back.

"'Then throw it in the river, or in the street, or do any thing with it rather than carry it on board ship, if you value your peace during the cruise; it will be a ceaseless joke at your expense as long as you hold a commission.'

"'But what am I to do for a cot?'

"My friend laughed again most immoderately, and asked how I proposed to secure such a soldier-like machine on board when the ship should be at sea, rolling and pitching.

"I now began to open my eyes, and enquired what he meant by a cot.

"'Oh, you'll see very soon; the ship supplies cots and hammocks; you have only to procure for yourself mattress and bedding. Take my advice and say nothing about your mistake, and I will hold my tongue too, though I confess the joke is too good to be lost. Good morning, sir, good morning;' and he hurried on board the ferry boat, laughing as he went.

"I immediately suspected there was some trick about being played on me, for I had read 'Peter Simple;' nevertheless, I determined to deposit my cot in a store, and go on board with my baggage, and, if necessary, send for the 'soldier-like machine,' which had already become an offensive object in my sight. Still, I could not imagine any other piece of sleeping furniture under this name, and was equally at a loss to know in what manner such a one should be secured when the ship got to sea.

"Immediately after reporting myself on board to the first lieutenant, he directed a midshipman to order Mr. ——, the sailmaker, to prepare a cot for me, which assured me I had done right

in leaving mine on shore. I was all anxiety to see the article known on board ship by the name of cot; therefore I followed the sailmaker with my eye, and found it to be an oblong frame of wood covered with canvass, having sides and ends of the same. To each end of it are attached the clues, which are a number of cords, bearing in their disposition some resemblance to an open fan, the small end having a ring in it, by which it is suspended from a hook, driven in a beam of the vessel. When hung up it forms an oblong canvass box, which yields to every motion, and you are in no danger ef being tossed out of it. When I saw it all prepared and suspended, I did not wonder at the laughter of my friend, but I felt under a constant apprehension lest he should tell the story, and my ignorance or greenness become a jest for the whole steerage. However. he has kept me thus long under obligations by his silence, and I hope he has forgotten the affair altogether. It is strange we should be so fearful of being laughed at, and yet idle time away in the country, which, if properly employed, would enlighten us on many subjects of which we often find ourselves ignorant. Indeed, I have found great difficulty in telling this joke on myself, finding, as Rosseau says. 'Ce n'est pas ce qui est criminel qui coute le plus à dire, c'est ce qui est ridicule et honteux."

"This *faux pas* made me keep a 'bright look out' for the future, and I fell into very few errors; it was some time, however, before I got to be *au fait* in the many little matters that are peculiar to a sea life. I soon became too cunning to expose my ignorance, always waiting patiently and observing attentively, till I felt sure of being correct before venturing a remark.

"To me, who had spent but a little time on the seaboard, and never had visited a man-of-war, the getting under weigh was an exciting event. Every thing seemed in a most chaotic confusion; the officers gave their orders. the midshipmen repeated them, the boatswain and his mates piped, the sailors ran aloft and down again on deck, the capstan was whirled round, the anchor was up, the sails were spread; we began to move, the leadsman cried 'by the deep, nine,' the quarter-master 'dice no higher,' which a green middy interpreted 'Christ no higher,' wondering that such profanity should be allowed,—in short, we were 'standing,' that is, sailing down the bay very fast, leaving New York enlightened by the rising sun.

"My head was all confusion. I could not comprehend any thing of the various movements around me. Yet away we went. Past Sandy Hook. and I saw the skies kiss the ocean for the first time. This thrilled me. I looked back on the receding shores of my country, and I could have wept; but Hope pointed to the ocean, and I sighed farewell, farewell. I hurried below and wrote a hasty note, and felt like cramming my whole heart into it, and perhaps I wrote more warmly than I ever did before, as they say I am very cold.

"The ship began to rise and sink as she moved gracefully over the bosom of the boundless blue waters. I was on deck again, and gave my note to the pilot, and then thought how much more I might have said, had I found words to express my feelings. Oh, how gentle was the breeze and how sunny was the sky on that April morning. But this buoyancy did not last long. I gazed around me, and felt in a glow of admiration,—then my head grew heavy,—I imagined a string was binding my temples; next came a nausea,—heavens! I would have given worlds for a permanent piece of terra firma to rest my legs upon. I bethought me of my cot, and requested that it might be hung up. The reply was a hearty laugh,—'You are very pale, you are *only* sea-sick, and your cot cannot be got till after sunset.' *Only* sea-sick, thought I, as if that were not enough. Nevertheless I had not courage to acknowledge it, and said I was very unwell,—that I was at sea, and they might fancy my indisposition to be sea-sickness,—at which all within hearing laughed heartily.

"I went below, and rolling myself in my cloak, dropped like a bunch of half-dressed flax into a corner of the steerage, hoping to get some relief, but in vain. Dinner was placed on the table close to me, and its fumes were to me disgusting. I peeped from my hiding-place, and loathed the very sight of the cheerful countenances of the middies, swallowing quantities of roast beef and potatoes, and laughing at the gay sallies in their own conversation. They seemed to me more horrible than cannibals. The corners of my mouth involuntarily stretched themselves downwards in disgust; I started up, and with a groan hung my head over a bucket. What a shout saluted my ears! 'Give him a piece of pork tied to a rope-yarn,' cried one, and in a moment the odious morsel was dangled under my nose,—'Take it,' said another, 'even if you are a Jew; the Jews only reject one part of a hog, and that is the hoofs,—so swallow manfully and you will be better.' Oh, the inhuman brutes,—not a spark of compassion in their bosoms,—phrenologists would find the organ of destructiveness largely developed in their heads I am sure.

"Escape seemed to be my only salvation; so I bolted the moment I thought I might depart from the bucket in safety, and sought the upper deck, where the cool breeze somewhat revived me. I remembered having been told by a seafaring doctor that sea-sickness was a nervous dis-

ease, for which cold water to the head was the best remedy; so I applied it, and I thanked heaven for my memory, blessed the doctor for his sagacity, and laid my hand on my stomach and found all tranquil.

"Soon after sunset I reached my cot, and, blessings on cold to the head, awaked next morning quite myself in spite of the motion of the ship, and the din which awakened me. I looked from my cot and beheld a number of men scattered about in different places on their knees, rubbing and grinding the deck with pieces of flag-stones and sand, while others were jerking a very large stone backwards and forwards, by means of a rope attached to either side of it: and some were dashing water about in every direction. This operation is called holy stoning, I presume, because the men work on their knees, and is performed every morning. The noise I leave you to imagine; and you may wonder, too, how people maintain their health in such wet dormitories; how they managed to sleep through it all was to me a matter of astonishment; but now I am so enured to it by habit, that I am not at all disturbed.

"After rubbing and grinding for a sufficient length of time, the master's mate of the gun-deck cried, 'Get your squillgees, and squillgee and swab up the deck.' The next thing was, that the men removed the holy stones, and applied instruments of wood resembling somewhat a garden hoe, with which they pushed off the water, while others followed them with great swabs of rope-yarns, striking to the right and the left, leaving the deck comparatively dry and very clean.

"At half past seven, or as they say on board, at 'seven bells,' a midshipman went to the officers in bed, saying to each, 'It is seven bells, sir;' which I soon learned, was the official way to inform them that it was time to get up, or in technical language, 'to turn out.' At the same time the boatswain and his mates winded their shrill pipes, shouting, 'Up all hands ahoy—up all hammocks ahoy.' The sailors leaped out, and began 'lashing up' their beds, and at once carried them on deck, where they were packed all round the ship's side in the 'nettings.'

"Curiosity had carried me on deck at an earlier hour, and I had time to observe every thing; and though the ocean and sky, rivaling each other in azure blue, were grand in my eye, I was more attracted by the scene passing before me on board. So soon as the hammocks were stowed away, the mess cooks spread out their tin pans and pots between the guns, and made every preparation for breakfast, which consists usually of cold salt-meat, sea biscuit and tea, the latter served in a tin bucket, or camp kettle, and drunk out of the tin pots, while the tin pans serve for plates, unless he prefer substituting a biscuit. Jack carries his knife always about him, secured to a button-hole by a rope-yarn, that he may be ready to cut a rope or his rations, as occasion may require. At eight o'clock, or eight bells, the boatswain and his mates piped to breakfast, and the men seated themselves in groups upon the decks between the guns and began eating. It was cheering to see the hardy fellows swallowing their beef and pork, cut in slices, on a biscuit, with such a healthy gusto. I felt no particular appetite, and I had not got what they term my 'sea-legs aboard yet'—that is, my gait was not accustomed to the motion of the ship.

"The sea day commences at meridian, and the twenty-four hours are divided into five watches of four hours each, and two dog watches of half that period. The dog watches are from 4 till 6 P. M., and from 6 till 8 P. M. Each watch is divided into eight parts, marked by a stroke of the bell: so that at half-past twelve o'clock, for instance, it is one bell; at one o'clock it is two bells; and thus at four o'clock it is eight bells. This manner of 'taking note of time' is at first novel, but one soon becomes accustomed to it. A marine, always stationed at the cabin door, near which hangs a watch, reports the half-hours to the quarter-master as they pass. So much for time.

"At two bells,—nine o'clock,—'the hands were turned to' by the piping of the boatswain and his mates, and the men were busied in their various avocations. The next moment after the piping, a little hand-bell was rung on the berth deck, and the surgeon with his assistant were seated at a little table near the dispensary, where they heard and prescribed for all who felt themselves indisposed. And amongst two hundred souls, there are always more or less who require medical advice; indeed, I am told that five per cent. of a ship's crew is the usual number of sick on board of men-of-war. At ten o'clock, the surgeon carries a written report to the captain, and the assistant makes a list of the names of the sick and hangs it near the cabin door. This is the 'binnacle list,' and is referred to by the officers to ascertain who are excused from duty, and by the purser's steward, to avoid serving grog to men who may be taking medicine.

"At 'seven bells' (half past eleven) the sailing master and the midshipmen were on the quarter-deck 'looking out for the sun,' quadrants in hand. This was an interesting half hour, for all seemed desirous of knowing the position of the ship on the globe; and to obtain the earliest information, were sauntering about the deck, while the 'master' sat upon the taff-rail, swinging his legs over the stern, with the

vizor of his cap turned behind to have his vision unshaded, alternately gazing at the sun, and reading off the figures on his instrument. The midshipmen were near him, ever and anon asking each other, as they took the instrument from their eyes, 'well, how much do you stand on.' At last the master walked to the officer of the deck, and touching his hat, said, 'It is twelve o'clock, sir; the latitude is 39°.

"The officer of the deck called a midshipman: 'Mr. —— let the captain know that it is twelve o'clock, and that the latitude is thirty-nine.' The captain was standing only a few feet from the officer; and the midshipman turning round, saluted the captain: 'It is twelve o'clock, sir; the latitude is thirty-nine.'

"'Very good, sir,' replied the captain, 'tell lieutenant —— to make it so.'

"'Make it so!' I repeated to myself; 'it is twelve o'clock, and if the captain do not like it, how can he help himself.' Still I was curious to know how this order was to be obeyed.

"The lieutenant put his speaking trumpet to his mouth, and in a loud voice cried, 'Strike the bell eight, pipe to dinner, roll to grog.' And the next moment the bell was striking, the boatswains piping, and the drums rolling—it was a Babel-like sound—and that was the way 'to make it' twelve o'clock.

"The grog was served out to the men on the gun deck, from a tub, in tin cups holding exactly a half pint. They all were standing in a crowd, separated by a rope stretched across the deck from the grog tub, and the purser's steward, or clerk, as he is now called, who called the names, and each man as he heard the summons, stooped beneath the rope, removed the quid of tobacco from his mouth, and wiping his lips with the back of his hand, grasped the tin measure and carried it carefully to his face. The feeling of recognition beamed from his eye for an instant, his breath was drawn in, and his lips kissed the cup as its contents were poured into his mouth, the head retreated backwards, till at last, he seemed to be looking at something immediately above his head. There was an expiration and a smack of the lips that declared the gusto with which the draught is swallowed. Grog is sometimes called 'gabble water,' because it makes them talkative."

Prior to the act of August 29, 1842, to regulate the navy ration "a half pint of distilled spirits" was allowed to each ration. By this law the spirit ration was reduced to one gill for all persons over twenty-one years of age, and they were permitted to commute it for its money value. Minors are not entitled to spirits.

Since the reduction of the measure of whiskey, it is customary in very many ships to divide the ration into two doses, one of which is exhibited before breakfast, and the other before dinner. On board of some vessels it is given before dinner and before supper. Generally it is drunk undiluted.

"Oh! whisky, dear whisky! it joys and cajoles;
Lies close to the heart, like a friend, and consoles."

It is doubtful whether whisky has any other virtue than its power to cajole. It is doubtful, because the question has been asked by high authority in the government, "Can the issue of spirit-ration be dispensed with, and what substitute will answer in its stead?" The ability to dispense with the daily use of spirit must rest on the solution of another question: Is distilled spirits an essential article of diet under any circumstances? Who should be relied upon to answer this inquiry? Your old men who have tippled fifty years and more, who always "take something" to celebrate the daily triumph of the sun in arriving at the meridian, would be recreant to themselves if they do not quote their own experience to sustain the opinion that "a glass of grog is a clever thing in its way." Is it an essential article of diet? For those who have never seen any male of Adam's race live without it, grog is of course essential. Ask an Irishman if man can live without potatoes, or a son of the Celestial Empire, whether tea and rice are not the essential elements of life. From the answers the conclusion would be inevitable that without grog, potatoes, tea and rice, men must surely perish. But let us gather facts, and after comparing them, form an opinion, a rational conjecture on the subject.

If the quantity contained in the ration were never exceeded, it might be drunk possibly without any very perceptibly injurious effect. But the ration is not enough to satisfy the appetite; it is just enough to create a craving for more, and to grog-drinkers an additional glass of grog is rarely unacceptable. This fact introduced the decanter and glass among the implements of hospitality: "the only difference betwixt the teetotalers and us," said a learned gentleman distinguished for the highest qualities of head and heart, "is, that they *kant*, and we *decant*." Whether that will always be the only difference, no philosopher has ventured to conjecture.

Commanding officers, in the exercise of a discretionary power over this part of the naval ration, by what law or authority I do not know, sometimes issue or rather prescribe an extra or duplicate ration of grog to the crew, either because the weather is very wet, or very dry; or because it is very cold, or very hot; or because

it is very calm, or is blowing a gale of wind; or because the ship has made a short passage; or because she has been long at sea, or simply because she has arrived in port. These public donations of grog are made under the name of "splicing the main brace." By some gentlemen they are supposed to be proper on every marked occasion, such as crossing either of the tropics or the equator, or doubling either the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. In special cases grog is given to reward extra duty or unusual service. The national holydays, and days of festivity, cannot be properly celebrated without "splicing the main brace." It might be well for those who are curious in statistics to enquire how much it costs the public treasury annually for whisky "to splice the main brace" afloat.

The various usages in relation to grog show that it is, in the opinion of the naval community, a harmless panacea for all the ordinary ills of body and mind, for fatigue and sorrow. That part of the law which makes a gill of spirits an ingredient of the daily food endorses this opinion. According to their acts in relation to it, navy officers and legislators must believe that whisky has great good qualities. Submissive to superior intelligence, seamen should not be reproached for supposing the more they can drink the better; but they might learn that to the same intellectual source they are indebted for the discovery that drunkenness is a crime, which can be prevented by the use of the cat-o 'nine tails.

The subject is worth a brief but systematic examination. The word intoxication is derived from the Greek word *toxikon*, poison, and by medical writers is used in its literal sense. They speak of arsenical intoxication, or poisoning from arsenic; opium intoxication, or poisoning from opium, and of vinous and spiritous intoxication, or poisoning from wine and from spirits. But in common parlance intoxication means drunkenness, and no one entertains a suspicion that a man is poisoned when he is drunk. Nevertheless, that condition known as drunkenness is only a manifestation of poisoning from fermented or distilled spirits in common use. It is the only form of poisoning which is supposed to be curable almost exclusively by flagellation, or some other form of penal infliction.

It is not necessary to discuss whether poisoning by spirits or alcoholic intoxication can be dispensed with; the law forbids it, and legislators have prescribed a routine of treatment for all cases in the naval service.

When death follows in a case of alcoholic intoxication, the spirit has, in some instances, been found in the substance of the brain. Hence it is inferred that spirit taken into the stomach in considerable quantity enters into and mingles with the current of the circulating blood. Life is destroyed by alcoholic excess much in the same way as by hanging and drowning; death takes place by *asphyxia*. But it is not necessary here to enter into details upon this branch of the subject.

It is generally believed that the excessive use of alcoholic liquors produces various diseases—*Delirium ebriosum*, or temporary paroxysm of insanity, characterized by violent excitement—*Delirium tremens*, or *mania a potu*, the "Horrors," a form of disease to which habitual drunkards are obnoxious—*Insanity*, or persistent mental derangement—(it may be estimated that twenty per cent or one fifth of all cases of insanity are caused directly by intemperance)—*Oinomania*, or that form of mental derangement which is characterized by an uncontrollable appetite for alcoholic potations. Inflammatory diseases of the brain; Apoplexy, Palsy and Epilepsy are frequently caused by alcoholic intoxication. Diseases of the stomach, bowels, liver, kidneys, skin, &c., are caused by intemperance. Spontaneous combustion is also among the fatal effects of habitual drinking.

The influence of the intemperate use of alcoholic stimulants on the duration of life has been studied with a view to pecuniary profit. It has been felt by the "pocket nerve" of insurance companies. Insurers assume as little risk as possible, and therefore they insure the lives of those who are most likely to reach advanced age. Intemperate subjects they will not insure. At the age of forty years the annual rate of mortality for the whole population of England is about 13 per 1000; and the average mortality for all ages between 15 and 70 is about 20 per 1000. According to the records of life insurance offices, the rate of mortality at the age of 40 is about 11 per 1000, and among those insured in Friendly Societies, it is about 10 per 1000. In the Temperance Provident Institution, with several lives insured above 70 years of age, the average mortality in eight years for all ages above 15 has been only 6 per 1000.*

The inference is that intemperance is opposed to longevity; and that total abstinence from the use of alcoholic drinks is favorable to the dura-

* On the use and abuse of Alcoholic Liquors in health and disease. Prize essay By William B. Carpenter, M. D. Blanchard & Lea. Philadelphia. 1850.

This essay is conceived in a truly philosophical spirit, and seems to have been written without prejudice or party views. It is worthy of attentive perusal by all who ma. be interested in the subject.

tion of life. Life insurance companies prefer for insurance those whose health and habits are indicative of length of days; their rules, founded on observation, exclude the intemperate.

Is alcoholic liquor, either from distillation or fermentation, an essential article of diet? The practice of the various communities which constitute the christian world answers this question in the affirmative; but the dietetic habits of Mahomedans, Budhists and Brahmins reply most decidedly in the negative. If the question were to be solved by a ballot of the entire world, the total abstinence party would be largely in the majority, because there are very many more religious misbelievers than christians. But we may approach the truth, perhaps, by a mode which, although less democratic than the ballot-box, may be, in fact, quite influential in the formation of opinion.

Every thought which the brain elaborates, every action caused by the motion of muscles and their appendages, causes an expenditure of nervous and other matters entering into the constitution of the animal body. Mere existence is associated with wear of the machine, which cannot continue in operation without a certain degree of temperature is preserved in it. To supply the expenditure and waste of matter, and keep up the required temperature or animal heat, resources have been provided by the Creator of all things, in food, in repose and in respiration.

An apparatus, consisting of various organs or instruments, is furnished to prepare food and render it fit to be incorporated in the material of the body in place of that which is worn out and lost. Without a set of digestive organs food could not be appropriated in this way; there would be no nutrition, or in other words, no supply of fresh matter in place of that consumed in the wear of the machine. The function or action of these several digestive organs is, as it were, to select and separate from the food such parts as are required to form nerves, muscles, bones, &c., and to combine their elements into the several compounds we denominate nerves, and muscles. It is essential to nutrition that the substances taken as food should contain all the elements which, in combination, form the various textures or tissues found in the animal. Chemistry has taught us that these tissues consist of several elementary or simple substances in various conditions or proportions of combination. They are chiefly oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen and carbon, which are also the chief constituents of plants. They are called elements because they have never been decomposed, or found to contain more than one kind of matter. The four elements above named form, by combination, what are termed organic elements or constituents. They are placed in two classes. The first class includes only the nitrogenous constituents, or those which contain nitrogen. The chief of these are albumen, fibrin, and gelatin. The second class embraces only the non-nitrogenous constituents, or those which contain no nitrogen. They are the various animal sugars and animal fats and fatty acids. Besides these organic constituents there are several inorganic or mineral constituents which enter into the composition of the animal body. They are water, lime, magnesia, phosphorus, soda, iron, manganese, silica, alumina, copper, in form of salts, oxides and acids.

In order that food shall furnish nourishment, that is, the material which is expended in the multitude of actions constantly carried on by the animal machine, it must contain the elements or constituents of that material. In other words, the food must contain the organic constituents of both classes, as well as the mineral constituents in the requisite quantity. It has been ascertained that all these constituents are contained in the flesh of animals used as food by man, and in various plants.

Besides the digestive apparatus for the purpose of nutrition, or supply of expended materials, there is another for maintaining the proper temperature. Respiration and circulation of some kind are essential to every form of organic existence, whether animal or vegetable; but every kind of respiratory and circulatory apparatus does not produce appreciable heat. The organs of respiration and circulation found in the bodies of mammals, man included amongst them, constitute a furnace or heating machinery. It is so nicely balanced in connexion with the digestive organs and skin, that the animal heat of man remains at the same degree independently of the changes of temperature of the air. The animal heat of men, under the tropic sun, is no greater than that of men within the arctic circle. But their animal furnaces require different kinds, or different qualities of fuel under different circumstances, to maintain the required degree of temperature within the premises. Fuel for animals? Fuel and food are necessary to preserve animal life. Fuel implies a burning or combustion, accompanied by an extrication of heat and also of light. Wood and coals are fuels for ordinary furnaces, but animals do not consume those articles. Wood and coals constitute fuel only in a ratio to the amount of carbon they contain; their combustion consists merely in the combination of oxygen with this carbon, and the degree of heat which combustion yields depends upon the difference of capacity for caloric, between the compound formed by their combination, and carbon and oxygen separately. For illustration, let us suppose that carbon and

oxygen, when separate, will each contain two measures of coloric; but when they are chemically united, the compound resulting from their union called carbonic acid, has a capacity for no more than two measures. It is evident, from these premises, that as the combustion, that is, the chemical union of oxygen with carbon, proceeds, two measures of caloric are turned out, set free at every step to be applied as occasions may require. This is the gross rationale or explanation of what takes place in every ordinary furnace or fire producing heat; the oxygen of the air, with its two measures of latent or imperceptible heat, unites with the carbon of the coals or wood, also with its two measures of latent or insensible heat, to form carbonic acid, which cannot contain more than two measures of latent or imperceptible heat; consequently, of the four measures of latent heat brought together, two are turned out to seek another abode, and in this way become exposed and perceptible to our senses.

The animal furnace in man is the lungs. The air reaches those organs, and every one of their thousands of minute cells, through the mouth and wind-pipe; the air goes into these minute cells or sacks composed of oxygen and nitrogen; but it comes out from them without its oxygen; the nitrogen returns to the atmosphere mixed with carbonic acid, the result of combustion. But how is it that there is carbon in those minute cells of the lungs? Where does it come from; how does it get to them?

Minute veins and arteries, continuations of the great trunks connected with the heart, ramify over the walls or sides of the little cells of the lungs. Those sides are too thick to permit blood to leak through them, but still thin enough to give free passage to oxygen and carbonic acid. The blood-vessels are merely two sets of canals; every blood disc in the veins is merely a barge carrying carbon to the furnace, while every blood disc in the arteries is an unloaded carbon barge freighted with heat and oxygen, returning to the minute capillary locks in the distant structure to be there loaded with carbon and again returned through the veins to the furnace. The heart, by its alternate contraction and expansion, keeps these discs, or carbon boats, in constant motion, as long as there is carbon to be found in the tissues, or oxygen in the cells of the lungs, to unite with it there to form carbonic acid, and thus furnish heat for the animal.

The food must furnish carbon for combustion in the lungs; and the digestive apparatus deposit it in the most convenient situations to be taken up by the blood discs for conveyance to the place of combustion. This animal fire cannot go down without diminishing the powers of the animal; if allowed to go out entirely for want of fuel, or want of air to sustain combustion, the animal dies.

Indeed all the vital actions have been supposed to be explained on a theory of combustion. The attrition and reciprocal action of parts on each other produce carbonized matter which is, as it were, poisonous or deleterious, and produces death if not removed. For this purpose the blood becomes arterialized, that is, loaded with oxygen, in the lungs, which it carries through every part of the system as an antidote to the carbon, or as above stated, the blood in the lungs loses the carbon, and goes back with heat and oxygen to be again freighted with carbon.

It is also presumed that the conversion of the worn-out materials of the body, into carbonic acid in the minute blood vessels, called capillaries, is attended by an extrication of heat. But be this as it may, the function of respiration in the lungs is the chief source of animal heat.

The means of conveying carbon out of the body are abundant. The two largest organs of man are engaged in this work: the lungs and the liver. The latter organ forms bile, which consists almost entirely of carbon. That fluid plays an important part in digestion, in the intestines, on its way out of the animal.

Carbon is necessary to maintain animal heat; all things being equal, the greater the quantity of carbon which the lung-furnace can burn, the warmer the animal will be.

But man's body requires nitrogen and oxygen, besides carbon and other materials to enter it and be consumed, or rather to enter new states of combination, which are continuously changing in regular and systematic succession, in order to maintain its vitality. For this reason, man requires a mixed diet. He cannot live upon sugar alone, because, although it consists of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, it contains no nitrogen. Besides, these ultimate elements must be in various forms or proportions of combination; fat and sugar differ from each other only in the different proportions of their ultimate constituents, which are carbon, hydrogen and oxygen.

The food of animals may be said to be literally burned in their bodies, and this, as in the case of other combustibles, for the purpose of producing heat. The gaseous products of the combustions are sent through the skin and lungs, while the smoke, soot and ashes are represented by the excrements and urine.

"The food required by animals must bear a certain relation to the waste of matter, and to the heat required. Thus, a hard working man, in whom the change of matter is rapid, requires much more food, (blood, or proteine compounds,)

than a sedentary person; and in cold climates a much larger quantity of food rich in carbon, especially fat, blubber and similar matters, is necessary than in warm climates, where, indeed, such food excites invincible repugnance. Any misproportion in the amount or nature of the food has a tendency to induce disease. Thus, Europeans who often eat and drink as at home, when they go to tropical climates, pay the penalty of their ignorance in the very frequent liver complaints observed among them. For the same reason. hepatic disease is more frequent during summer than during winter."*

Alcohol consists of four parts carbon, six parts hydrogen, and two parts oxygen. It may therefore be considered simply as an animal fuel; but inferior in quality to solid fat or starch; for while the latter furnish a far larger amount of carbon, they are free from the stimulating properties of alcohol, which are prominent in all its various forms. The articles of food containing carbon without nitrogen, and which are free from intoxicating or poisonous qualities are so numerous, that it is not necessary to include any of the alcoholic preparations among them, in order to furnish the quantity of carbon required for the production of animal heat. Sugar or oil might be substituted for alcohol, both being rich in carbon.

Hydrogen is a combustible which furnishes a very considerable degree of heat, even greater than carbon itself. Its union with oxygen to form water is accompanied by an extrication of heat; but an explanation of this point is not necessary for the present illustration. It is enough to remember here that alcohol contains two combustible or inflammable elements. The red men of the West, it is presumed, were not aware of the chemical constitution of whiskey, although they so appropriately named it the "fire-water of the pale faces."

It is not necessary to consider here the articles of food which contain albumen, fibrin and gelatin, all of which contain nitrogen.

Waste of animal material is in proportion to bodily as well as to mental exertion. The sense of fatigue is in fact a natural demand for a supply of matter in place of that which has been consumed. When the muscles are exercised there is an expenditure of muscular substance as well as of nervous substance; because every action of a muscle involves also the action of its appropriate nerves. The basis of muscle and nerve consists of albumen and fibrin. There is not the slightest relation of composition between the spirit part of the ration and muscular substance. Consequently it has no nutrient powers, and is therefore not essential to enable men to endure great and long-continued bodily exertion.

The following statement bears upon this point. It relates to brick-making, which is commonly accounted one of the most laborious of all outdoor employments. "Out of upwards of twenty three millions of bricks made in 1841, by the largest maker in the neighborhood, the average per man made by the beer-drinkers in the season was 760,269; whilst the average of the teetotalers was 795,400, which is 35.131 in favor of the latter. The highest number made by a beer-drinker was 880,000; the highest number made by a teetotaler was 890,000; leaving 10,000 in favor of the teetotaler. The lowest number made by a beer-drinker was 659,500; the lowest number made by a teetotaler was 746,000; leaving 87,000 in favor of the teetotaler. Satisfactory as the account appears, I believe it would be much more so, if the teetotalers could have obtained the whole 'gang' of abstainers; as they were frequently hindered by the drinking of some of the gang; and when the order is thus broken, the work cannot go on."*

Dr. Carpenter relates that a ship, on a voyage from New South Wales to England, sprang a leak after passing the Cape of Goood Hope, and to keep her afloat during the remainder of the voyage, a period of nearly three months, required the continued labor, not only of the crew and officers, but also of the passengers. "At first, the men were greatly fatigued at the termination of their 'spell' at the pumps; and, after drinking their allowance of grog, would 'turn in,' without taking a proper supply of nourishment. The consequence was, that their vigor was decidedly diminishing, and their feeling of fatigue increasing, as might be expected on the principles already laid down. By the directions of their commander, (who, although very moderate in his own habits, at the time of the writer's acquaintance with him, was by no means a disciple of the Total Abstinence school, which renders his testimony the more valuable.) the allowance of grog was discontinued, and coffee and cocoa were substituted for it; a hot 'mess' of these beverages being provided, with the biscuit and meat, at the conclusion of every watch. It was then found the men felt inclined for a good meal of the latter, when the more direct but less effective refreshment of the alcoholic liquor was withdrawn; their vigor returned; their fatigue diminished; and, after twelve weeks of incessant and severe labor, (with no interval longer than four hours,) the ship was brought into port

* Gregory. Organic Chemistry. London. 1845.

* Carpenter. On the use and abuse of alcoholic liquors. Lea & Blanchard. Philadelphia. 1850.

with all on board of her in as good condition as they ever were in their lives."*

That the aborigines of our country, prior to the introduction of intoxicating drinks amongst them, were capable of long endurance in the chase is generally admitted. Carefully tried experiment has led to the common practice of sailing the merchant ships of the United States without giving grog to their crews. Indeed, grog rations are now almost entirely discontinued in the merchant service, in which the endurance of men is as severely tested, as it possibly can be under any circumstances.

Both theory and experience show that the spirit part of the ration is not necessary to enable men to endure extraordinary labor.

The use of alcoholic drink is very generally supposed to be of essential assistance in enabling men to endure mental exertion; but its stimulation is invariably followed by depression of mental power. Experience shows that literary men, who have been in the habit of laboring under this kind of stimulus, have been enabled to achieve more after acquiring the habit of abstinence.

Experience confirms the conclusions derived from physiological study, that alcoholic drinks are not essential to sustain the vital actions when the body is exposed to very low degrees of temperature. The Esquimaûx and Greenlanders depend upon oleaginous food to furnish the necessary quantity of animal fuel when the temperature is very many degrees below zero. Men who have engaged in the arctic and antarctic exploring expeditions, have borne the severest cold without the use of the spirit part of the ration. When men are supplied with solid food and hot coffee, they will endure cold with less suffering, and for a longer period, than when they depend upon alcoholic drinks for animal fuel.

Alcoholic liquors do not assist the body to endure a very high temperature. They supply animal fuel to the interior furnace, when it is not required in large quantity. It has been found that English soldiers in India enjoy better health and fewer perish from disease, since the establishment of temperance societies amongst them, On this point the evidence is abundant. The native inhabitants of the tropical regions of the earth, it is well known, consume very little alcoholic liquor of any kind. It is safe to assert they enjoy better health than acclimated Europeans who indulge even moderately in the use of wines or spirits.

Dr. Moseley, who resided several years in the West Indies, says, in his work on Tropical Diseases; "I aver from my own knowledge and custom, as well as the custom and observations of many other people, that those who drink nothing but water, or make it their principal drink, are but little affected by the climate, and can undergo the greatest fatigue without inconvenience, and are never subject to troublesome or dangerous diseases."

Spirit drinking is set down by the most philosophical writers on the diseases of India, as the most prolific cause of various diseases of the liver.

Nor is the use of alcoholic liquors essential to protect men from morbid agencies in malarious situations. All the protection required under such exposure is found in hot tea, coffee, or cocoa. In the island of Java, near the coast, where intermittent fevers and dysenteries constantly exist, Europeans are protected by taking a cup of hot coffee before exposing themselves abroad to the early morning air.

The habitual moderate use of alcoholic liquors impairs the powers of perfect digestion by stimulating the appetite, and thus inducing a much larger consumption of food than the body in health requires for its nourishment. It cannot be reasonably doubted, that habitually over-feeding a healthy man will induce disease. Any excess in the quantity of food taken into the stomach, produces a corresponding excess in the action of all the various organs concerned in the process of digestion and nutrition. Excessive action of the machine in its parts, or as a whole, hastens the exhaustion of its powers. Health and duration of life will be in a ratio to the perfection of equilibrium between the supply furnished through the organs of nutrition, and the expenditure of the animal material. All things being equal, a well constituted animal will live longer in proportion as its respiration and nourishment are perfectly balanced, by the exercise of its muscular and nervous systems. Starvation and repletion are merely relative to the normal demand for nutrient matter, and this demand is measured by the degree of habitual exercise of the physical powers of the animal. Sedentary and idly listless persons require less food than day-laborers; the quantity which would be repletion for the former, would be inadequate for the latter, and place them in a grade of starvation.

The spirit ration is usually administered just before meals; it creates a false demand for food, while itself affords no nourishment, and adds nothing to the physical power of the man. The speed of the horse may be augmented very much for a limited period, by the application of whip and spurs; but their application adds no more to the physical powers and endurance of the horse, than the administration of the spirit ration augments the physical powers and endurance of men. The stimulus of spurs in one case, and of spirit in the other, are somewhat analogous; the

* On the use and abuse of alcoholic liquors.

armed heel alone cannot sustain the speed of the courser, nor can the spirit enable the digestive organs to dispose of an excessive quantity of food without impairing their powers. Its effects would be less prejudicial, if grog were drunk an hour after meals.

It is not to be denied, however, that alcoholic drinks, both distilled and fermented, including of course all the varieties of spirits, wines and beers, are valuable medicines. There are some few persons of feeble powers of digestion, either from original defect of constitution, or from long continued chronic disease, to whom spirits, or wine, or beer, are very important, if not essential. But this class of valitudinaries forms an exception, and should never be found among the privates of an army or navy. The discussion of the necessity of the spirit ration has been entirely in reference to men in health; it is not necessary to consider it either as a medicine or a prophylactic, that is, a means of preventing disease.

It is presumed that the abolition of the spirit ration would not be in the way of recruiting men for the navy. It is generally abolished in the merchant service; therefore those seamen who are attracted to the navy solely on account of the grog, if there be many such as has been asserted, would be left the alternative to labor on shore or to go to sea without grog.

Is it expected that the abolition of the spirit ration will abolish drunkenness among those employed in the navy? Not immediately. The present race of adult seamen will not be reformed in this respect; but it may be reasonably conjectured that the young and rising generation will become adults without acquiring the habit to drink, which is now taught by example. In the estimation of boys and minors on board, admission to the grog-tub is one of the privileges and signs of manhood. They are prone to imitate whatever is considered manly, and therefore they often anticipate the time of manhood and exhibit their precocity by drinking themselves drunk on the first favorable opportunity.

It will not be denied that a rigid practice of sobriety and temperance is desirable in every vocation of life; but it is feared this will not be brought about solely by taking away grog from sailors. The habits of men frequently spring from imitation of those whom they regard as superiors. Dr. Robert Jackson, in his work "On the Formation, Discipline and Economy of Armies," pertinently remarks: "The officer may lead by example; he cannot drive by authority. If a general of high reputation in war, instead of courting popularity by a sumptuous table and high-flavored wines, had the resolution to cover a simple board with a plain repast, similar to the soldier's mess, and measured in quantity, in proportion to the number of the guests, he would have the merit of being a reformer; and if his example serves to eradicate the national propensity to sumptuous living, which is the most prominent defect in the character of the English military, he would be regarded, and justly regarded by posterity, not as a visionary reformer, but as a national benefactor of the first distinction. The plain repast is sufficient for sustenance; and a plain repast gives all the gratification to the palate of an hungry and thirsty man that a soldier ought to permit himself to receive; and, while it does this, it leaves his organs as not overwhelmed by turtle and claret, free for impressions of military glory and pursuits of military science."

"Economy, or a just measure of means to ends, lays the foundation of individual and national prosperity: adherence to it alone insures the performance of happiness. Dignity of mind and real military virtue have no connexion with sumptuous living. The conqueror is ordinarily frugal and homely, that is, the bold barbarian emerging from savage life: the conquered is ordinarily rich, luxurious, and what is called refined; that is, the creature of the appetites of corporal sense. The Spartan nation was temperate and frugal. It was august in the assembly of nations, and warlike in the field of battle. The Spartan mess-room presented little furniture that was costly, no service of plate, and few silver or gilded utensils. It presented veteran heroes teaching lessons of warlike virtue to youth, an equipment of infinitely more value than the inside of a jeweller's shop. The precedent is good, and it is not difficult to be followed. Cleomenes, one of the Spartan kings, found, at his accession to the sovereignty, that, instead of Spartans of the school of Lycurgus, a degenerated race filled the military ranks—men corrupted by the luxuries of Asia, and absorbed in the pleasures of the table. The moral virtue was lost, and even the military virtue was obscured. He meditated reform, and the first step in reform was the reëstablishment of the public mess and frugal meal. Cleomenes was plain in manner and frugal in expenditure at mess; but no sovereign, whose record stands in history, was more dignified in mind; and no one—not even Louis the magnificent in all his grandeur—commanded a devotion equal to what was voluntarily given to this simple and meanly attired Spartan. The English military are perhaps more under the influence of the pleasures of the table than any other military in modern times; but they are not beyond the possibility of reform. It is reported that General Wolfe, who, while a man of superior goodness, was perhaps the most perfect soldier of the age in which he lived,

never gave an elegant, and rarely an eatable dinner to persons of the *haut gout*. The epicurean was disgusted, the soldier was regaled. General Wolfe's table was said to be an epitome of a Spartan mess-room. No one rose from it without having been furnished with the opportunity of carrying away a military lesson; and few left it without feeling an accession of military importance communicated to the mind by the impressive influence of a hero's spirit. The example was almost solitary. The career of General Wolfe's life was short; his virtues were, notwithstanding, of such force, that the impression remained long with the 20th regiment which he formed, and at one time commanded. The example of a frugal mess-table is not, the writer is aware, adapted to our present habits; but man is the child of imitation; and, if frugal regimen were the regimen of high authority and acknowledged military talent, simplicity of living might again become a fashion in the army. The young soldier, instead of exerting his genius in the improvement of a ragout, or the dressing and carving of a duck, might be formed to eat his ration of beef and bread in silence; and, instead of thinking it necessary to be intoxicated with wine, might be led to imbibe the spirit of Wolfe and Cleomenes, and thus become a soldier." (p. 337-8.)

The prevalence of drunkenness among privates in the navy may be estimated very accurately from the "report of punishments in the naval service for the years 1846, 1847" and part of 1848.*

During those three years the average mean strength of the navy may be estimated not to have exceeded 8000. Within that time those 8000 privates suffered 5761 individual floggings; of this number, 1882, or 30.93 per cent were inflicted for "drunkenness," for "smuggling liquor," for "doubling the grog-tub," and for "stealing liquor," or, in a word, for offences directly arising from grog. If to these be added the punishments indirectly connected with spirit drinking; those for insolence, turbulence, quarreling, fighting and riotous conduct, it will probably increase the number of floggings on account of the spirit ration to one half.

Careful examination of the question, in its several relations, will lead to the following conclusions.

1. A ration of spirit is not an essential item in the food of a healthy man: therefore it may be dispensed with.

2. Spirit is not essential, nor in any manner indispensable, to enable men to endure very great cold, or very great heat, or to sustain long continued and extraordinary labor.

3. As a general rule, the habitual moderate use of alcoholic stimulants tends to impair the powers of life, and to render men more obnoxious to the influence of malaria.

4. The use of spirituous drink is directly or indirectly the cause of about one half the punishments necessarily inflicted heretofore in the naval service.

5. All kinds of alcoholic drinks should be considered rather as medicines than as articles of diet.

6. As the spirit ration affords no nourishment, is not essential in cases of extraordinary exposure to cold, heat or fatigue; as it leads to conduct requiring penal correction, and as the experiment has been extensively made in the merchant service, in workshops and manufactories of all kinds, among slaves on sugar and cotton plantations, it may be entirely dispensed with in the navy advantageously to the health, discipline and efficiency of the service.

An excellent substitute for the spirit ration would be found in a supply of filters for each water-tank, and an augmented ration of water and of atmospheric air to sleep in. Modern invention has furnished filters for water well adapted to use on ship board, far superior to the old fashioned drip-stones or analogous contrivances. Indeed there is no common necessity of life afloat which can be supplied in better condition or longer preserved than sweet palatable water. It is probable there is no material in nature less liable to spontaneous change; its constitution is as constant as the granite of the everlasting hills. Even when it contains in mechanical mixture mud and vegetable debris, they fall to the bottom, are precipitated, and the water remains entirely pure. Vegetable and animal matter in a state of putrefactive fermentation would not render water in which they were forever unfit to drink. I refer to such river waters as, when taken on board ship for use, undergo fermentation from the vegetable and other matters mingled in them, evolving fœtid hydrogen or other gaseous compounds. Water, in the offensive states alluded, should not be drunk. It is not probable that spirit essentially changes the unwholesome properties of such water, although it may render it less nauseating or less repugnant to the drinker of it. The addition of spirit serves to disguise or rather to modify a disgusting dose; but it does not render such a potation less noxious as nutritious material. It is desirable to obtain and preserve for use on board ships wholesome and palatable water, because it is one of the most essential of the constituents of animal bodies. Water which contains putrescent matters mingled in it, or saline substances in consid-

*Punishments in the Navy. Ex. Doc., No. 51. House of Representatives. Thirtieth Congress. Second session.

erable quantities dissolved in it, cannot be made wholesome by simply rendering its taste more agreeable. Diseased or decomposed flesh can not be rendered an eligible article of food by subduing its flavor in a coating of aromatics or condiments; nor can we render ropy, wormy, or putrid water a proper or wholesome drink by adding to it whisky or brandy.

All substances in a state of minute division contained in water can be removed by the process of filtering; but that which is dissolved in water cannot be separated from it by a filter. No process of filtering can remove the various salts dissolved in the water of the ocean, nor can we ever hope to render it a wholesome ordinary drink, even if we find a means of concealing its taste. Castor oil mingled in the foam of ale or porter may be swallowed without disgusting even a delicate palate; but the influence of the oil is in no degree modified by such admixture.

To retain the spirit ration under the pretext that it is necessary to improve the taste of impure or dirty water, is as absurd as to argue that it is also necessary to obviate the evil effects imagined to result from drinking water of the various temperatures at which it is found in different latitudes from the equator to the pole. If the addition of spirit be necessary to render water wholesome in very cold regions, and the same addition be necessary for its salubrity under the blaze of a tropic sun, the ration of spirit is too small. Enough should be allowed to add a little to every draught of water a man may require. Instead of a gill (the present allowance) at least a pint should be furnished for the daily consumption of each man, if we assume that a gallon of water is not more than sufficient to satisfy a laboring seaman between the tropics. It will not be contended that taking a half gill of spirits undiluted twice daily, which is the practice on some vessels, will enable men to satisfy thirst through the entire twenty-four hours on dirty or impure water when the temperature of the atmosphere is above 85° or 90° F.?

Where water becomes "as cold and chilling as the northers," less is required to be drunk. If this comparatively small quantity be objectionable on account of its low temperature, possibly there may be some who would recommend, on aboriginal notions, raw spirits instead of water, as being less dangerous. It has been stated, upon what authority, however, I am ignorant, that the body of an Indian was found frozen upon a high way. A council of his tribe was assembled to ascertain the cause of his death. After long and serious consideration of all the circumstances, it was the unanimous opinion of the inquest that the Indian had lost his life by imprudently diluting his whisky with water which had been congealed within him by the cold of the preceeding night, and thus extinguished the fires of life.

There are men of exalted station who entertain opinions on this subject wholly at variance with those above set forth. Among them is the senior captain in the navy, the distinguished Commodore Charles Stewart. In an official letter addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, dated "Bordentown, N. J., March 11, 1850," he thus expresses himself on this point:

"At this late period of naval history it would be difficult to discover the origin of the introduction of spirits as a component part of the ration into the navies of Europe; it seems they always had and still have such an allowance. It is, however, varied in kind, so as to suit the habits of their own seamen, and the policy of their respective governments who allow its use, in rendering it subservient to the various products of their own country or colonies. England furnished *rum* from its West India colonies, Holland furnished *gin*, France issues one day *wine* and the next *brandy* alternately, Sweden and Denmark *rum* from their colonies," &c.

On similar grounds the English made war upon China to enforce the consumption of opium; and now His Holiness, the Pope, under stringent regulations, encourages the consumption of tobacco by all the subjects of the Holy See. It will not be disputed that an extensive popular use of rum, brandy, gin, wine, opium, tobacco, &c., is of a pecuniary advantage to the manufacturers and producers of these articles, and of a corresponding advantage to the governments which derive revenue by taxes upon them. But this fact has no influence in deciding whether any one or all of these articles are necessary either to health or comfort. Commodore Stewart continues:—

"All persons who have been much at sea are aware of the impossibility of keeping up a supply of good or pure water. Sometimes it is brackish, at others ropy or putrid, and oftentimes from long confinement in close vessels, it is found in a state of decomposition, and any fixed air it originally contained wholly separated and expelled. In the hot latitudes, it becomes in the heated holds of vessels so warm that the stomach will almost reject it; and in the higher latitudes, as cold and chilling as the northers; thus the almost daily varying of cruising ships' positions brings with it a like variance in the water, and from these circumstances oftentimes deprives the water of its refreshing qualities. This may have originated the issue of the spirit ration in vessels of war, as a means of ameliorating this essential article of life amongst those who go down to the seas in great ships. I know that, in addi-

tion, (from experience) to be sometimes absolutely essential to the sustaining the energies of the men, when great efforts are to be made under emergencies, or to sustain them from sinking entirely after great physical exertion, influenced by excessive excitement.

"If, therefore, it in any measure form an essential to a sailor's comforts, (of which he has so few at sea,) why should the very many be deprived of it, because two or three per cent. of the whole number will, when an opportunity offers, abuse themselves and their service through an inordinate use of it? This would seem like punishing the many good men for the faults of the few."

Although my acquaintance with the naval service commenced little more than a quarter of a century since, and therefore is less than half as ancient as that of the veteran commodore who claims "an experience of nearly sixty years' sea-service," I believe that water which is pure when obtained, may be perfectly preserved for an indefinite period. I have drunk water which has been kept on board ship more than three years; it was as limpid and sweet as that from the Schuylkill or Croton after passing through the best modern filter.

The general employment of iron tanks for water in the British navy dates from 1815, and in our own service from about 1825. Upon the subject of supply of water for ships' companies, I subjoin an extract from the "Statistical reports on the health of the Navy" of England, collated by John Wilson, M. D. R. N., and published by the House of Commons in 1840 and 1841. Dr Wilson says:—

"Palatable water in sufficient quantity, is essential to comfort, and influential on health; and in no article, at least in the manner of keeping and preserving it, has there been greater improvement than in this indispensable one, in recent times, in ships of war. When water was kept in casks, it became slightly fœtid, from the disengagement of hydrogen, in a few days, and, in a fortnight or three weeks, so loathsome, as to be swallowed with repugnance, even when called for by urgent thirst. The progress of decomposition, and its nauseating results, were especially rapid and offensive, when the water was most pure at least, when it contained the smallest portion of mineral admixture, and the temperature was high. When the solid food at sea consisted almost exclusively of very salt beef and pork, biscuits long baked, and puddings made of salt suet and flour, the desire for, even the necessity of abundance of water, was great. No one who has not felt it can imagine the distress that was often endured, within the tropics, setting aside the effects on health, from the intense thirst thus excited, and the only means available for quenching it—water so putrid, and offensive, often so thick, and green from vegetable admixture, and decomposition, and emitting so strongly the fætor of rotten eggs, as to disgust at once the sense of smell, and of taste.

"Happily all these evils and inconveniences are banished from the navy, by the substitution of iron tanks for water casks. Water suffers no change in these iron vessels, however long kept, at least no change in itself, from decomposition. The metal becomes oxydised to a certain extent, and the oxyde in the interior of the tank mixes with the water, but, from its weight and insolubility, falls to the bottom, and does not, except in stormy weather, discolour the water, till the tank is nearly empty. When the water is taken from the tank in stormy weather, or from the bottom, it has a brownish color, on account of a portion of oxyde of iron being suspended in it, the greater part of which soon falls to the bottom of the vessel into which it has been drawn. It is not tainted with any thing offensive either to the palate, or the nose. There is no reason to suppose that the slight chalybeate admixture is injurious to health; it may be in such minute portions beneficial.

"It is of importance, not only that water should be kept without deterioration in ships, but also that it should be wholesome when sent on board. The first object is fully obtained by iron tanks; the last must depend on the means of supply, and care, and judgment in selection. At home, and generally in British Colonies, there is little difficulty in procuring good water, but in some of the many places visited by ships of war, it is not always easy to procure it free from mineral solutions, deleterious in quality, or quantity, or from various vegetable additions. In such cases, care and labour should not be spared in choosing and procuring the best. In some foreign ports a small charge is made for supplies of good water, to save which, bad water has been taken on board, at the expense of considerable labour to ships' companies; this is poor and injurious parsimony, which should never be practised. The acuteness and philanthropy of Captain Cook led him to lay much stress on abundance of wholesome water for the preservation of health, and to use every means for obtaining it. It may be thought that it did not require much of either quality to arrive at that conclusion; but, looking at the general practice then, and long after, it was not so self-evident as it now appears to be."

Commodore Stewart is in error to say that it is impossible to keep up a supply of good or pure water at sea; he is also wrong in attributing

the disagreeable odor and taste of water to "long confinement in close vessels," also in saying that water is "found in a state of decomposition" from such cause, and also in the notion that water contains "fixed air" (the vulgar name of carbonic acid gas,) the loss of which renders it unpalatable or unwholesome. Water contains a small quantity of atmospheric air mingled with it under ordinary circumstances, but no "fixed air" or other gas. Palatable water becomes vapid, insipid by boiling, but its flavor may be speedily recovered by agitating it in contact with atmospheric air, which becomes enveloped or mingled in the liquid.

It is notorious that the inhabitants of many towns are supplied with drinking water from tanks exclusively, and that rain water is preserved in them for years in a perfectly wholesome state. This fact alone should be sufficient to show the error of Commodore Stewart's statement and the fallacy of his whole argument. But the influence of opinion entertained and expressed by men holding distinguished positions, cannot be efficiently met by the simple contradiction of obscure individuals, and for this reason I have ventured to state why Commodore Stewart's opinion, on this point, is not entitled to the confidence of the public or of legislators. His first argument is simply this: An allowance of spirit has been given to the privates of all christian navies: the antiquity of this allowance is a guarantee of its propriety; hence it is clear that the spirit-ration should be continued in the navy of the United States. A parallel form of this reasoning will show its force. Drunkenness has been permitted in all christian navies; drunkenness is sanctioned by long custom, and hence it should be continued in the navy of the United States.

His second argument is simply this:—Impure or unwholesome water only can be obtained on board ship at sea; the mixture of spirit with impure water renders it palatable and consequently wholesome; therefore, a gill of spirit taken raw in two doses daily will correct the disagreeable taste and odour of a gallon of impure water drunk from the scuttle-butt, and at the same time bring said water to a standard temperature whether the ship be at the equator or the poles.

—

CHAPTER IV.

Penalty of going aloft the first time; Bat on board 800 *miles from land; Flying-fish; Dolphin; Cetáceans; Dolphins not fishes; Changing colors of the dying dolphin explained.*

March 18*th.* Lat. 59° 22′ North, Long. 54° 56′ West. Fresh breeze; ten knots an hour. Gulf weed floating past. It was generally believed we were in the N. E. Trade winds, but at night it rained and the wind changed.

20*th.* The carpenters are at work; they are altering the arrangements of the berth-deck, which will improve the ventilation and contribute to the comfort and health of all. This evening a gentleman who has never been afloat before, ascended to the mizzen-top to enjoy a moonlight reverie, where the captain of the top demanded "footing" in accordance with the custom of the sea. The rule is that the new comer shall pay an initiation fee, in the shape of a glass of grog. to the top-men, or its equivalent, or submit to be tied fast in the rigging for the sport and amusement of all beholders. It is cheaper to pay the grog than risk the alternative.

March 31*st.* Last night a leather-winged bat was flitting about the gun-deck to the amazement of many who surmised the animal must be excessively weary after its long flight from land, the nearest point of which being at least eight hundred miles distant. But the animal probably came on board at New York during the autumn, became torpid in the winter cold, and roused into life by elevation of temperature, had emerged from its hiding-place.

March 23*d.* Latitude 24°41′ north, longitude 52°33′ west. Temperature of the air 78° F., and of the sea 75° F. To day the first flying fish was seen, and a dolphin was caught under the bow with a harpoon. The animal was speedily butchered and distributed to the cooks: the flesh is white, dry, and not very savory, but may be satisfactorily eaten at sea.

Flying-fishes, called *exocetus*,—(one who sleeps out, or as it might be rendered by the policemen of large cities, "a night lark")—which means a fish which sleeps on shore, not that the name describes the habit of the animal, but the ancients are supposed to have believed that flying-fishes slept out of the water:—Flying-fishes are found in various parts of the world, but abound most in warm regions. There are several species; that most frequently met is the *Exocetus volitans*. These fishes are from six to twelve inches long, with a bluish back and silvery white belly. Their pectoral fins are very large and expanded, so as to serve the purpose of wings to a limited extent. They bound out of the water and skim along three or four feet above the surface of the sea, a distance of three or four hundred feet, occasionally rising and falling in the course of their flight. Sometimes hundreds together are seen upon the wing, presenting a beautiful spectacle, their azure and silver sides glittering in the sun. They rarely remain out of water longer than a half minute. At the expiration of this time, it is probable their gills become dry, and they drop again into the

sea to take breath. The common notion is that they cannot fly when their fins become dry.

This feeble, brilliant, graceful little fish enjoys no little sympathy, because it is a victim of so many pursuers. It springs from the sea to escape from voracious fishes, only to fall a victim, very often, to rapacious birds. But it is wrong to suppose that it is never seen in the air except when pursued in the water: it is probable the animal flies for its own pleasure as well as safety. It feeds upon animal and vegetable substances. Want of strength alone prevents it from being as great a depredator as any inhabitant of the ocean.

The dolphin, be it remembered, is not a fish, although it dwells in water: it is an aquatic mammal, being included by naturalists in the order of Cetácæ, which embraces dolphins, narwhals, porpoises, grampuses, whales and rorquals. The cetáceans are formed for living exclusively in water; but they resemble fishes in nothing else. Like other mammals, cetáceans respire air by means of lungs, and cannot remain under water more than twenty-five or thirty minutes: they are therefore obliged to come to the surface to breathe; fishes on the contrary respire, by means of gills, the air which is mingled in sea and river waters, and are not under the necessity of coming into our atmosphere to preserve life.* The blood of fishes is cold, and is circulated by a heart having two cavities; but that of aquatic mammals is warm, and is moved by a heart which has four cavities. The blood corpuscules of fishes are elliptical; but in mammals they are circular. Fishes propagate their species by means of eggs, but cetáceans, like all mammals, bring forth their young ones alive and suckle them during infancy. I am assured by whalers, who have killed mother whales when nursing their infants, that they have seen acres of ocean whitened by their milk, effused while in conflict with their pursuers.

Generally considered, cetáceans constitute a distinct, well-marked order in the animal kingdom. They all inhabit the water, and their structure is such that they cannot leave it; for this reason the ancients mistook them for fishes. The enormous size of their bodies would prevent progression on land; besides the weight of the superior parts would crush those which happened to be next to the earth. This is seen when these monstrous animals are stranded; they are flattened, and their internal organs are so far effaced by the great weight, that they can no longer perform their functions. Respiration becomes at first laborious, then interrupted, and the animal dies from asphyxia or suffocation in the only element respirable by his organs. His muscular power is not in proportion to his enormous size; and this is in accordance with a general law of nature, which provides a diminution of this force inversely and proportionately to the development of stature in all animals.

In order that cetáceans may move and change place, they require an element which sustains their mass without too much compressingit, and while affording the necessary support, does not offer too much resistance to its motions. This element is water. None of them have inferior extremities, (hind legs,) but the body, which is more or less cylindrical, always elongated, terminates posteriorly by a thick tail and cartilaginous fin, placed horizontally, which admirably perform the duty required of them. They swim by means of this tail, which pushes them forward; and the fore-fins serve to preserve them in a natural attitude, or to direct their motion to the right or to the left. The horizontal position of the tail-fins makes their manner of swimming altogether different from that of fishes; the latter, having the tail-fins vertical, push the water from side to side, while cetáceans push it from above downwards and from below upwards. This structure gives them great facility in diving, but at the same time renders their motion on the surface undulatory, which is so strong in porpoises that they seem to be always turning somer-sauts. The head, generally very large, is attached to the body by a neck, which is so thick and massive, that they appear not to have any. The anterior extremities are composed of short, flattened bones, covered by a tendinous membrane; they have the form of true fins, the functions of which they in fact perform.

Compared with terrestrial mammals, cetáceans are not very intelligent. Different genera and species confine themselves within certain geographical limits respectively; and it is said, that

* M. Leroy states that whilst the water of rivers contains per litre, (about a quart, or 61 cubic inches,) 40 cubic centimetres, (about 15 3-4 cubic inches,) of gas, that of the ocean contains only 20 centimetres: and that this quantity varies according to the hour of the day at which the experiment is made, as he shows by the following table:

	Morning.	*Evening.*
Carbonic acid,	3.4	2.9
Oxygen,	5.4	6.0
Azote or nitrogen,	11.0	11.6
	19.8	20.5

The Statement of M. Leroy has been verified by a committee of the Academy of Sciences at Paris. The portion of oxygen varied from 32.5 to 34.4 per cent; that of the carbonic acid from 12.0 to 19.4 per cent; that of azote from 48.1 to 53·7 per cent.

This gaseous compound, mingled in rivers and seas, is doubtlessly adapted to the physiological wants of the animals which inhabit the waters, and furnishes them the exact quantity of vital air required for their respiration.

like other animals, when driven away by their pursuers, they return again to the region of their birth. Some live in rivers exclusively, some in bays and gulfs, and others are only encountered in the open sea. There is a dolphin which never leaves the waters of the Ganges, and another which never passes the limits of the Orinoco. There are several genera which inhabit the northern parts of the Atlantic, and never go south of the 40th parallel of north latitude. White dolphins are seen in the China sea, and black dolphins in the seas of Japan. There are whales of the Cape of Good Hope, of Brazil, of Japan, of the North and of the South Pacific oceans.

The order of cetáceans is divided into three families: 1st, the Dolphinians, which includes porpoises, several varieties of dolphins and narwhals; 2nd, the Physeters, and 3rd, the Balanians. The last two families include all the various kinds of whales as they are generally called—spermaceti, black-fish, right-whale, blowers, &c., &c.

Cetáceans are very useful to human society. They furnish oil for lamps and machinery; adipocere or spermaceti for the chandler and druggist; whalebone for milliners, mantua-makers and umbrella manufacturers, and their teeth supply an ivory used in many branches of the arts. And lastly, statesmen and politicians perceive that the pursuit of animals of this order constitutes an excellent school for the education of seamen, essential to the navy in time of war.

In the opinion of the ancients the dolphin was an amiable, good, grateful animal, which was sociable with those who treated him kindly; he obeyed them and became so fondly attached as to die of grief, when, from any cause, he was abandoned by the object of his affections. Pausanias relates that he himself saw a dolphin which, having been wounded by fishermen and cured by a child, manifested gratitude. He would come at the sound of the child's voice, and would carry him on his back wherever directed. The melodious notes of Arion subjected dolphins to his purposes; and the pastoral tastes of Oppian's dolphin was so decided, that at the sound of the shepherd's flutes he left the sea to join the flocks in enjoying the quiet and shade of the woods.

But the dolphins of the present day are stupid, brutal, voracious beasts, with only intelligence enough to devour their prey and propagate their species. It is suggested that the histories of the dolphin given to us by the ancients belong more properly to the shark. Be this as it may, the dolphins formed a very ancient race; their fossil remains are found in the marine tertiary strata of the earth.

Naturalists divide the family of dolphins into seven groups: 1, Delphinorhynchus; 2, Dolphins proper; 3, Inias; 4, Porpoises; 5, Hypérodons; 6, Narwhals; 7, Globicephales.

The following list will show how numerous the dolphin tribes are.

Delphinorhynchus coronatus,
" frontatus,
" rostratus,
" macutatus,
" malayanus,
" micropterus.

Dolphins Proper.

Delphinus delphis,
" tursio,
" capensis,
" superciliosus,
" Novæ-Zelandiæ,
" plumbeus,
" longirostris,
" Kingii,
" leucopleurus,
" truncatus,
" cruciger,
" dubius,
" velox,
" frœnatus,
" cephalorhynchus,
" Pernettyi,
" Boryi,
" albigenus,
" lunatus,
" minimus,
" santonicus,
" abusalam.
Planista gangetica, or Delphinus gangeticus.
Delphinus Peronii,
" Rhinoceros,
" Mongitori.

Porpoises.

Delphinus communis,
" grampus,
" compressicauda,
" hastatus,
" Homei,
" obscurus,
" cœruleo-albus,
" deductor, vel, globiceps,
" globiceps,
" intermedius,
" leucas,
" Desmarestii,
" spurius,
" niger.*

It is hoped the reader is satisfied that dolphins are not fishes. The broad and marked differences in organization between the class of fishes

* See Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire Naturelle.

and the class of mammals are recognized by slight observation; but it may not be easy at first sight to regard cetáceans which belong to the latter as any thing but fishes, for a simple reason. The fact that fishes are peculiar to the waters is so familiar, that it is perhaps difficult to believe any animal which lives only in the ocean is not a fish. The medium in which animals dwell does not indicate their structures, organization or habits, nor, as a consequence, to what rank in the classification of animal existence they belong. All animals found in the waters are no more fishes, than are all animals which live in our atmosphere birds or insects; a quadruped is not more distinct from a toad, both inhabitants of land, than is a whale or a dolphin from a shad, all inhabitants of water.

The iridescence, the changing colors of the dying dolphin, is a theme of poets, and is a spectacle very generally admired. In the minds of wonder-loving people, these changes of color shadow forth in some manner the intense agony of the animal in its death struggle. It seems to them a mystery that it should have this power; but the fact is susceptible of easy explanation.

The animal has very minute scales, which are marked by very diminutive lines. This structure, or mechanical arrangement of the scales, is the cause of the phenomenon under consideration.

The scales of the dolphin are about three tenths of an inch long and one tenth broad; they are paraboloid in shape, and marked by lines about one thousandth of an inch apart, forming numerous parabola, which seem to have a common centre. This structure is revealed by the microscope. To understand how this arrangement explains the phenomenon, it is necessary to know that if a ray of light falls upon a plate of glass which has been ruled so as to have lines upon its surface very close together, a thousand or fifteen hundred to an inch, the ray of light will be refracted and the surface of the glass become iridescent, showing all the colors of the rainbow. The beautiful play of colors seen on the surface of the haliotis shell after the outer covering or epidemis has been ground off, is owing to a similar cause. The shell-matter is deposited by the shell membrane of the animal in extremely thin lamina, not more than one thousandth of an inch thick. When the epidermis is ground off, the edges of these lamina "crop out," as geologists say, and form numerous extremely minute parallel lines, which, refracting and decomposing white light into its primitive colors, as may be seen on ruled glass, produce the iridescence so much admired. The lines on the little scales of the dolphin have the same effect: and as the contortions of the animal in the agonies of death of course continuously change the angle at which they are seen by the beholder, a different hue is perceived by every alteration of position of the scales. How perfectly simple is the cause of this phenomenon, which excites almost universal admiration and wonder, to say nothing of superstition in the minds of the ignorant and vulgar!

—

CHAPTER V.

Obstacles in the way of Carpenters at sea; Mess arrangements in a gale; Inconveniences from constant motion; Man overboard; Rope-yarn Sunday; Practices on the first Sunday of the month; The law of 1800 *"for the better government of the Navy," copied from the English "Usage of the sea-service;" Religion in the Navy established by law; Contrast between the law for the army and for the navy; Third article of the law; Want of classification of crimes; Profane swearing contrary to law; Charge of drunkenness not easily proved; Various kinds of punishment; General summary of the provisions of the law; Authority to punish restricted to the Captain; Constitution of courts-martial; Capital offences in the Navy; Thirty-first article provides vicarious punishment; The hazards of life in the navy; Moral influence of the Act of* 1800, *on officers of the line; Assertion of line precedence or supremacy; The terms "sea-officers," "civil officers," and "officers proper of the navy;" Why assertion of line precedence is repugnant to staff officers; The term rank explained in a note; No definition of the term Navy; Authority in the navy; Responsibility of Captain; Summary Court; Inefficacy of Punishments; Corporal Punishment considered; Military government an aristocracy; Imprisonment as a means of correction; Classification of offences; No law for organization or government of the navy; Falacious experience; Mode of legislation for the navy suggested.*

March 25th. Latitude 26°26′ north; longitude, 48°28′ west. Fresh top-gallant breeze; the ship close hauled on a wind, bowlines taught, (i. e. tight,) and mizen topsail furled. We are dashing along at the rate of ten knots an hour. The work of the carpenters has been attended by many small annoyances and difficulties, which on shore, would be considered almost insurmountable. The moment a chisel or any tool is laid down, a roll of the ship may send it flying across the deck, not without danger to those in its way. Sometimes the entire work-bench is turned over and the tools scattered; but such accidents do not stop the work.

March 26th. The day commenced with a

strong breeze, and squalls, and at eleven o'clock, P. M., the ship was "lying to" under a close reefed main top-sail in a gale of wind. It was necessary to cover our mess-table by a wooden frame work, having compartments for the plates and dishes to prevent them from sliding away while we ate. It requires some exertion and experience to keep one's place at table on such occasions. In such times the cooks find it difficult to keep their fire and kettles in juxtaposition. Yet experience imparts skill under all circumstances; and old cruisers will not permit bad weather to excuse the cook from producing his dinner at the appointed hour. Men must eat, even if the topsails are close reefed.

March 27th—Night. The wind does not abate; the sea has increased, that is, the waves are larger and the motions of the ship are so great that the carpenters have almost given up their work. While I write I am braced in position, and candle and inkstand are tied fast. The wind roars among the spars and rigging as I have heard it in gusts through a forest. The timbers and staunchions are creaking; there is the surging of the rudder on its pintals as it is struck by the waves with a force seemingly enough to tear it away from the stern—a force computed to be equal to a weight of three tons to every square foot. There is the rushing, gurgling noise of the sea passing the sides, and an occasional splash of water tumbling in a shower on deck from a broken wave. Such are the mingled sounds around me, that the ship seems a huge living monster in agony of pain, endeavoring to suppress complaint. It is cheerless, even depressing. This eternal motion is exhausting; one cannot read or even think in the midst of such sounds until after long habit has made him indifferent to them. But we are in no danger; we are only uncomfortable, and our recollection of the gale will be lost in one day of pleasant sailing under a bright sky.

March 30th. The gale has passed away, but the weather is still boisterous and the sea rough. The ship is under single reefed topsails and courses. The latitude at noon was 24°52′ north, and longitude 46°56′ west. No trade wind yet.

At two o'clock Midshipman H., a boy of fourteen years' old ran from the lea-gangway, towards the "officer of the deck" holding up a thermometer, his whole deportment exhibiting consternation. Utterance seemed to be lost; he stammered out, "Sir! Sir!"

"What's the matter, Mr. H.," demanded the officer; "broken a thermometer, eh?"

"No, sir; Maynard, sir."

"Well, what of Maynard, sir?"

"Maynard, sir, drawing a bucket of water to try the temperature, fell overboard."

"Man overboard, man overboard," shouted several voices.

"Cut away the life-buoys," cried the officer of the deck. "Rise tacks and sheets; man the main clue garnets and buntlines; down with the helm, quartermaster: up mainsail; man the weather topsail braces; haul foretopsail brace; let go that lee foretopsail brace: jump, men, jump: clear away the starboard quarter boat." The orders were given and obeyed in less time than is required to record them, and the almost immediate effect was to check the ship's headway, then six knots, and very soon to give her stern board, that is, cause the vessel to move stern foremost, and in the direction of Maynard, who was seen about two hundred yards off, rising and sinking from our view as the crests of waves hove up and broke between us. He sustained himself well, and seemed to be quite self-possessed. A life-buoy floated a hundred yards from him in one direction, and a ladder, which had been thrown over board, about fifty yards from him in another. Officers and men watched him from the taffrail with deep interest. It was evident that he saw neither life-buoy nor ladder. Some delay in lowering the boat was caused by a canvass boat-cover being laced over it as a protection from the effects of the sun. Yet a very short time elapsed, however long it appeared to us, anxiously excited for the fate of the man struggling for his life, within our sight, in a rough feathery sea. His cry of despair came to us in a feeble sound, but in a moment we had the delight to see the boat glancing over a wave, every man bending his oar, and presently a seaman in the bows stretched out his hand and seized that of the exhausted Maynard. We saw him lifted out of the water. Then the life-buoy was picked up and the boat returned to the ship. She was hoisted up to the davits and secured without accident, notwithstanding the rough sea. The boatswain managed her handsomely, and gained approbation for the coolness and skill he displayed.

Maynard was conveyed below, very much exhausted by his long swim and fright; and what man could undergo such peril, and escape without suffering from the effects of terror? He was pale, his lips blue; his eyes were glazed and almost starting from their sockets; his whole aspect betrayed fright and exhaustion. His pulse could scarcely be felt. He received the attentions his condition required, and in a few hours was able to speak composedly of what had happened.

Maynard is one of those slow-moving, helpless beings, frequently found among the "landsmen" on board ships of war. He was addicted to strong potations, and being unable to provide

for himself by labor on shore, he had sought to serve his country in the navy: but he is not a solitary instance of a hard bargain among the patriotic servants of the people. He was willing to do all he could, but he could do nothing well; even when his intellect was not clouded by emanations from the grog-tub, he seemed to encumber every thing by his help. In the course of his duty, he had attempted to draw a bucket of water for a midshipman of the watch, whose business was to ascertain and record the temperature of the sea. This is done once in two hours. As the ship rolled deeply to leward, a wave caught the bucket, with the effect of communicating a powerful jerk to the man holding the rope attached to it, because he held it tightly. He lost his equilibrium, and holding fast to the bucket, pitched into the sea.

When he rose to the surface, he found the little wavelets, formed on the face of the great waves, were blown in feathering spray and dashed almost continuously in his face. He was forced to swallow a considerable quantity of salt-water, and his first effort was to avoid it. He beheld the ship bounding away from him under single reefed topsails before a strong wind. He had no distinct appreciation of his peril at first. But a doubt that he was missed, or if missed, could he be seen, occurred. He saw the ship change her course, so that her side was offered to his view, but the next moment her stern was presented to him again, and his hope sank under the idea that on one knew he was not in the ship. The spray almost beat his head under. He saw neither life-buoy, nor ladder, nor boat; the stern of the ship was towards him and to his imagination, she was fast leaving him to perish in the midst of the ocean. It was then in a phrensy of despair he began to shout.

The incident made no impression upon him morally. Bodily pain and the fear of being left were strongest in his memory. He did not remember whether a distinct idea of death and eternity had entered his mind at all. It is very certain his love of grog was not abated by the event.

April 1st. For eight days past the wind has been from the southward and eastward. Our course lies southeast, and therefore against the wind. Showers of rain and squalls have filled up the day. I note the weather, because we are making a track for Maury's wind and current charts.

The sea has subsided considerably, but to keep out the water, it is necessary to keep the upper half-ports shut in. This is "rope-yarn Sunday." The ordinary work of the ship is suspended as far as practicable, and the day is allotted to the men for the purpose of making and mending their clothes. Every thorough-bred seaman is able to make his own wardrobe, from head to foot. Wherever a dry spot can be found on the gun-deck, groups are seated with their clothes' bags cutting out and sewing garments. The name of the day seems to be connected with the comparative quiet which prevails. Thursday, or Saturday, is commonly the special day for tailoring; but almost every day men spend a part of their leisure with the needle; some of them use it very skilfully.

April 2nd. Being the first Sunday of the month the religious services were preceded by reading selections from the naval articles of war, that is, "an act for the better government of the navy of the United States," approved April, 1800. On board of well disciplined ships the officers and crew are mustered on the first Sunday of every month to hear read by the Captain's clerk, such portions of this antiquated law as bear especially on the conduct of sailors. On this occasion the officers are in parade dress; the formality is calculated to increase respect for the law. This custom is commendable, because it is calculated to acquaint every one with the provisions of military law under which he lives: but the law itself is so little in harmony with the spirit of our political institutions, and in many respects so directly at variance with daily practices and omissions afloat, that it is questionable whether the reading of it in the usual manner is advantageous to discipline. It is generally followed by discussions at mess-table which commonly result in convincing every reflecting mind that the whole system of naval organization and law should be revised.

The law of 1800, "for the better government of the Navy," consists of eleven sections. The first section contains forty-two articles; the second three; the sixth, seven; and the remaining sections one each. It is the only statute designed for the regulation of the naval service. It was probably sketched by naval officers of the time, and may be regarded as an imperfect transcript from the British statute book. In those days we acknowledged our inferiority to Great Britain, by imitating her in all things relating to the navy; a contract for iron guns for the navy in 1796, stipulates that they "shall conform exactly in weight, bore, calibre and length, to British ship guns of the same dimensions now in use."* We have ceased to copy the models of British guns and British ships; it is time to have some improvement in our copy of their naval statute book.

Look at those naval articles of war; listen to the strictures upon them which may be heard

* American State Papers. Naval Affairs.

during discussions at mess and in pleasant moonlit first watches.

The first article enjoins upon commanders of vessels of war, "to show in themselves a good example of virtue, honor, patriotism and subordination," and to watch over the conduct of those under their command, and "to correct all such as are guilty of "dissolute and immoral practices" "according to the usage of the sea service."

Every Christian gentleman will respect this simple recommendation.

But it gives to commanders an indefinite power to correct the conduct of subordinates by an indefinite rule. The usage of the sea service is not uniform: each commander establishes rules for the internal regulation of the vessel under his command, and carries them with him, modifying them from time to time as his own experience may suggest. There is an usage of each commander, but scarcely any practice is uniform throughout the navy. The rules which govern the allowance of water may be taken as an example; one commander gives his crew as much water as they require; another allots every man one gallon and not a drop more, and a third limits the allowance to a less quantity. It may be fairly asked, the usage of what sea service is to rule? When the law of 1800 was enacted our navy was too small and too young to have acquired an usage of the sea-service. It is presumable that the usage which obtained in the British navy, upon which our own is modelled, was contemplated by the framers of the law. But how is British sea-custom to be applied in the navy of the United States? Our commanders may be ignorant of the details of British naval usage without incurring reproach; yet, in minor cases at least, they are enjoined to correct the faults of subordinates by the *lex non scripta* of a foreign sea-service in which they have had no experience.

The usage of the sea-service in legal construction, means the *lex non scripta*, or common law of the sea-service peculiar to a nation. To be available in law, a custom must be sanctioned by general consent, and be undisputed for a very long period—certainly not less than twenty years. Next, if it exists, its *legality* must be established; for if it is not a good custom, it ought to be no longer used; and to be good, it must be legal and immemorial. A usage or custom to be *immemorial* in England, must have been used so long "that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. So that if any one can show the beginning of it, it is no good custom. For which reason no custom can prevail against an express act of parliament, since the statute itself is a proof of a time when such custom did not exist." "Now time of memory hath been long ago ascertained by the law to commence from the beginning of the reign of Richard the First; and any custom may be destroyed by evidence of non-existence in any part of the long period from that time to the present."* The reign of Richard I. began about the year 1189.

Again, what practices are dissolute and immoral, besides those specified in a subsequent article of the law? It is difficult to give a definite answer. If a commander fail to be exemplary in his own conduct, or to notice the deportment of those under his command, how can he be legally punished? Upon this point even the usage of the sea-service may be appealed to in vain for reply.

The second article requires that "Commanders of all ships and vessels in the navy having chaplains on board, shall take care that divine service be performed in a solemn, orderly, and reverent manner twice a day, and a sermon preached on Sunday, unless bad weather, or other extraordinary accidents prevent it: and that they cause all, or as many of the ship's company as can be spared from duty, to attend at every performance of the worship of Almighty God."

This article is clearly mandatory; but there is no definite punishment laid down for its infraction on the part of commanders. It is unusual to respect all its provisions. In the course of more than a quarter of a century I have not known of religious service on any other day than Sunday, and on that day, only a single observance, and not "twice a day," as the law directs. I have heard of one ship only on board of which there were two daily religious services.

By what rule is it to be determined that the manner of performing divine service is solemn and reverent? Opinion on this point will vary according to sectarian views. Religious services performed after the manner of Methodists or Presbyterians, are not respected by Roman Catholics, and by them would not be regarded as solemn or reverent; nor can those of the several protestant sects, *in foro conscientiæ*, consider the daily mass of the catholics respectable, solemn or reverent.

What manner of divine service does this law require to be performed "twice a day?" There is nothing either in the letter or spirit of the law from which a reply can be inferred. But all sects in the ship, whether Roman Catholic, protestant, dissenter or jew, are required to join together in some kind of religious worship. In too many instances, we imitate British practices; so in this, the Episcopal service of the Church of England, regarded as it were in the light of a compromise of all religious views, has come

* Blackstone's Commentaries

to be, in form, the established religion of the Navy of the United States. If sailors generally entertained definite views of religion, there would be very often difficulties of conscience to overcome in order to obey the call to divine service. But being for the most part totally indifferent on these points, they observe religious ceremonies as they do military parades, simply because it is part of the duty they have agreed to perform.

Individuals, both officers and privates, have urged that to be present at the Episcopal services, was repugnant to their religious faith; and on this ground they have been excused by the commander of the vessel from assisting in Sunday's worship. Commanders are guilty of assumption and arrogate power, when they assume to suspend or abrogate entirely the operation of any law, either wholly or in part. Some parts of the Act of 1800, authorize commanders to exercise a discretion in the discharge of special duties under it; but the theory is that efficacy of law depends upon obedience to all its provisions; and, therefore, unless it be expressly stated otherwise, no one charged with its administration can safely be permitted to excuse, at discretion, any one from its operation, or enforce one part of the law, while he openly disregards another provision of the same statute. The moment officers assume a right to select particular provisions of a law for their guidance, or to reject parts of a law, they virtually exercise a discriminating and partial *veto* power over the acts of Congress, and thus far bring law into contempt and set it at defiance. The clause in question is imperative; its language is that commanders "shall" "cause all, or as many of the ship's company as can be spared from duty to attend at every performance of the worship of Almighty God." It leaves the commander no discretion in the premises; it gives him no authority to excuse individuals on any other plea than that of duty. And when he assumes it, he acts contrary to the injunction of the preceding article, and no longer shows a "good example" of "subordination;" and, if declining to attend church be included among them, he not only fails "to correct," but encourages "immoral practices," whenever he excuses any one from assisting at the performance of divine service. But he has quite as much right to excuse men from Sunday worship as he has to entirely dispense with the religious services which the law commands to be performed "twice a day."

There is another question under this article, which abstractionists and strict constructionists may consider to be of paramount importance. Can an officer or private in the navy be legally punished for disobeying an order to attend divine worship?

The law directs divine service to be performed twice every day, a sermon to be preached on Sunday, and requires that all persons on board shall attend at every performance of worship. If this can be regarded as a "law respecting an establishment of religion," it is unconstitutional, and its provisions are null, because the constitution of the United States declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

John O'Brien, Esq., of the United States army, states the argument on this point; it seems to be so pertinent and conclusive, that I commend it to attention.

"The first amendment to the Constitution declares that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an established religion, or prohibiting the exercise thereof? This is a general, sweeping prohibition, admitting no exception of persons, places, or officers. It deserves attention. Congress is not merely forbidden to establish *a religion*, or to make any law even respecting such establishment. The amendment goes further, thus: The legislature is prevented from making any law respecting the establishment of *religion*, not *a religion*, or any special religion, but religion in its widest and most extensive meaning. The word thus used refers not solely to this or that particular creed or sect, but to all religions and all sects collectively, as well as to each of them individually.

"The framers of our constitution and the people who adopted it, deemed religion far too sacred and high a matter for the interference of any human power, and for this reason they jealously guarded against any action whatever by the legislature on this sacred subject. Our government is formed to settle the relations of man to man, but dare not intermeddle with those of man to his God. Any law of Congress requiring any one man, or any set of men, to attend divine service, were it but on one single occasion, is a law respecting or relating to the establishment of religion. Such a law would, therefore, be null and void. Congress might not designate any particular form of service, and thus might not make a law respecting any particular form of religion. It would, however, be not less a law, respecting the establishment of religion generally, and would, therefore, come under the law of the Constitution. Our whole political theory is opposed to such legislation. A fundamental axiom with us is, that political governments have no right to meddle, in the remotest manner, with religion in any way, shape or form. Under our Constitution, neither Congress nor any individual, has the shadow of a right to compel any one to attend the divine service of any church whatever, even if

such church be of his particular creed. This amendment to the Constitution renders null and void, in all cases and for all persons, any law, military regulation, or order, requiring attendance at divine service. No pretext of military discipline will avail, since the Constitution is full, clear and imperative, making no exceptions and admitting none.

"The amendment we are considering, also forbids Congress to pass any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion. Any law enforcing attendance on divine service would, so far as it was effective, prohibit the *free* exercise of religion. Any individual who was thus forced to attend church, would practise religion not *freely*, but on compulsion.

"Again, it is a matter of religious duty with members of some creeds to abstain from attendance at divine service of any other than their own church. This abstinence is for them, as much an exercise of religion as any positive act. They are exercising their religion by this, as much as a Jew is doing so, when he abstains from the flesh of unclean animals. Now, if a law requires him to attend a divine service of a church not his own, it prohibits him not merely from the *free* exercise of his religion, but from any exercise of it in this particular.

"With regard to such persons, there is yet another protecting article in the Constitution. The sixth article of this instrument declares, that 'no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office of public trust under the United States.' A religious test is the requiring of any act to be done, or any article of belief to be asserted or derived, as a condition of office, which act or assertion is in violation of the trusts of one or more religious creeds. If the religion of any individual requires him to abstain from attendance at any particular form of divine service, and it is made by law a part of his official duty to be present thereat, such law imposes a religious test on this person, and virtually excludes him from office on account of his religious belief.

"As an objection to the arguments founded on conscientious scruples, it is urged that the reasoning which has been used proves too much. The members of some religious denominations are opposed to war, and to all forcible resistance to wrong. Still, from the arguments used, it compulsory on an officer or soldier to do his essential duty of opposing the public enemy.

"This objection, so plausible in appearance, will, on examination, be found to have no bearing on the point at issue. The general principle is fully admitted, that any construction of one part of the constitution which renders another portion of the same instrument a mere nullity, must necessarily be erroneous. One clause may limit or modify the effect of another, but it can never destroy it. In any case, therefore, where those parts of the constitution securing religious liberty, must, if carried into vigorous practice, annul, in effect, the power vested in Congress of creating and organizing an army, [or navy,] we are bound to conclude that they are modified and restricted by this grant. This is on the principle that the grant of any power, carries with it the grant of all powers necessary for its exercise. But this principle by no means interferes with another of equal force, which is that in all cases where two clauses of the Constitution do not conflict in any way, both are to be deemed of full force. We have seen that certain clauses of this instrument prevent the passage of any law requiring attendance at divine service. If it can be shown, that this prohibition necessarily interferes with any power necessary for Congress to exercise the prerogative of raising or organizing an army, we will readily admit, that so far as it does so conflict, and so far as it relates to the public force it is ineffective. To do this it would be necessary to prove that attendance on divine service was an obligation of such nature, that an army [or navy] could not exist, or that it could not perform its essential and appropriate duties without conforming to it. If this cannot be made evident, then Congress has as little power of requiring the attendance of soldiers [or sailors] at church, as it possesses over citizens.

"On this point but little need be said. It is evident to every mind that attendance on divine service is purely a religious duty between man and his Creator. It is in no sense a military duty. Armies [or navies] are raised for no such purposes. Desirable, then, as it may be to encourage religion among all men, the Legislature has no power whatever to force this matter either on the army, [the navy,] or on the public at large. It must be left to each one's conscience and sense of gratitude to the Deity.

"It is true that Congress can enforce duties, other than military ones, on soldiers [or sailors,] but its power in this respect over the military, [ashore or afloat,] is precisely the same as it is over citizens. It is subject to the same restrictions. And if the fundamental law of the Union has prohibited any interference with religion and religious duties, this prohibition is of as full force with respect to the army as to citizens, unless, indeed, it can be shown that such restriction is inconsistent with the existence and essential purposes of the army."*

* A Treatise on American Military laws, and the practice of courts martial; with suggestions for their improvement. By John O'Brien, Lieutenant in the United States Army. Philadelphia. 1846.

The second article of the act of 1800 is strikingly in contrast with the second of the articles of war which govern the army. We have seen that the first is imperative; but the last is simply advisatory; its language runs thus: "It is earnestly recommended to all officers and soldiers diligently to attend divine service," &c.

The object of Mr. O'Brien in his argument was to show why "Congress did not declare that it is *required* of all officers and soldiers" to attend divine service. It is evident from the general tone of the article, that Congress entertained a strong desire that soldiers should attend church; but in obedience to the Constitution, it refrained from compelling them to do what it only earnestly recommended. "A recommendation, however urgent, is not a command."

The enactments of Congress on this point for the army and navy are remarkably opposite; in one case the constitution is respected; in the other it is disregarded. Congress alone is responsible for this discrepancy. It is the duty of the national legislature to make laws; and at the same time to treat the Constitution with entire respect, by acting in perfect subordination to its provisions. It is the duty of every citizen, whether employed in any branch of the military service of the government or not, to obey the law. It should not be presumed by an officer of the navy, or army, that Congress and the Executive would make an unconstitutional law. Has an officer of any grade authority to decide upon the constitutionality of a law, and to be governed in his action under it according to his own decision? The assumption and exercise of such authority must endanger military discipline, and tend to place men in the power of officers who might be cruel and capricious, almost beyond the protection of law. No such authority should be recognized.

If legislators in their enactments are openly insubordinate to the Constitution, they should not complain of those who are insubordinate to their statutes. Through the influence of pernicious example, disobedience may be transmitted from the legislature, in a descending scale, from the commander-in-chief to the privates in our military establishments, with the effect of destroying all discipline and subordination. Disobedience to law should never be permitted in any case. If a law be unconstitutional even, it belongs to the law-making power to annul or amend it, and would follow that Congress could not make it not to those whose office is to administer and obey the laws. While he acts in obedience to law, it is a privilege of every American, if he believes the law to be wrong, to state his objections, so that they may be considered by legitimate authority; but he must submit cheerfully to the result of deliberate examination by such authority, even when contrary to his own deductions.

The third article of the act of 1800 is as follows: "Any officer, or other person in the navy, who shall be guilty of oppression, cruelty, fraud, profane swearing, drunkenness, or any other scandalous conduct, tending to the destruction of good morals, shall, if an officer, be cashiered, or suffer such other punishment as a court-martial shall adjudge: if a private, shall be put in irons, or flogged, at the discretion of the captain, not exceeding twelve lashes; but if the offence require severer punishment, he shall be tried by a court-martial, and suffer such punishment as said court shall inflict."

The classification of crimes or offences here is remarkable. Oppression, cruelty, fraud, profane swearing, and drunkenness are all embraced under the mild generic denomination of "scandalous conduct" and, are of the same enormity, if measured by the penalty awarded by the law. An officer guilty of any one of these offences may be cashiered, that is, discarded disreputably from the navy, or he may be punished in any manner a court-martial may point out; but a private is subjected, ordinarily, to be punished at the discretion of the captain, by flogging to the extent of one dozen lashes, or by being put in irons. The period of confinement in irons, or whether he is to be in manacles only, or in shackles only, or in both, is not stated. The captain assumes that all these details are left to his discretion and he acts accordingly.

Oppression and cruelty are classed with "profane swearing." The last in a military point of view, is merely a gross, absurd vulgarity, which brings no absolute injury on any one, but cruelty is a wanton infliction of misery, calculated to goad men to mutiny. As far as it relates to profane swearing the law is obsolete: I have no recollection of hearing of any officer or man being punished for this indecorous habit.

It is difficult to establish a charge of drunkenness against an officer, or even against a private, before a court-martial. But when the allegation is made against a private, commanders have little hesitation in deciding upon the charge, or in sentencing the offender to punishment. It is very rarely that privates are innocently punished by captains under this charge; but they sometimes escape deserved castigation when the case is tried before a court. The reason is that witnesses are reluctant to testify on a point which has no clear definition in their minds. They are not satisfied that when the mental equilibrium is disturbed in any noticeable degree, consequent upon swallowing intoxicating drinks, that the condition is described by the term drunk. There seems to prevail a vague notion that illegal drunkenness consists in a total suppression of mental power,

accompanied by an almost complete loss of muscular ability, resulting from drinking an excessive quantity of distilled or formented liquor.

Court. "Was he drunk at the time stated?

Witness. "I should not say he was *actually* drunk; he talked a little thick, and could'nt walk exactly straight; he might have been a *leetle* disguised as regards to liquor, but I can't swear he was drunk."

Court. "What do you understand by the term, drunk?"

Witness. "I can't say exactly, for I knows some men who are smarter for being a little sprung. I once knew a mate that wasn't fit for duty till he got his three or four glasses in him. I suppose a man's drunk when he is fighting, noisy, don't know his friends and won't listen to reason. The court knows, a man may get rousing merry over his glass, say and do many foolish things, and none of the company say he was drunk. I should not like to swear a man was drunk, unless I was very clear as to the fact."

A very free construction has been placed upon this article, and modes of punishment instituted which are not even alluded to in the law. In practice, privates were put in irons *and* flogged. In many cases confinement and restraint are necessary preliminaries to trial; in such instances, simply putting in irons cannot be fairly considered as the punishment. A man in a state of riotous intoxication is put in irons to prevent injury to himself and others; but if released on becoming sober, and he escape subsequent castigation because he had been already confined, there would be in fact no punishment for his offence. Among the modes of punishment not alluded to in the law, which have been resorted to in the navy, are the "colt" or rope's end; the rattan; carrying a heavy shot during a watch; standing upon the capstan; riding the spanker-boom; gagging; bucking, &c., &c. The two last are rare. Gagging is effected by securing a rod of iron or wood across the wide open mouth; it is employed as the only effective mode to stop a stream of the vilest, vituperative profanity which angrily drunken seamen alone are capable of imagining. Bucking is a means originally invented for securing such prisoners as possess a natural facility of escaping from fetters; it consists in placing a bar or rod of sufficient length crosswise beneath the hams and in front of the elbow joints, after the wrists and ankles have been put in irons. This arrangement of course confines the prisoner to a sitting posture, and restrains his motions to very narrow limits. It must be a most irksome position to endure for any considerable period.

These and some fantastic modes of punishment may have had their origin in the British navy in the days of Benbow and Roderick Random, long prior to the discovery that crime might be cured by "moral suasion." These modes of chastisement are used for the correction of minor faults, such as do not require the severity of the "cat." They are not to be considered indicative of the cruel or tyrannical spirit of officers; they are more open to be charged with culpable leniency, than harshness in the administration of the naval code. Nor are these modes of punishment positively illegal, although they are not prescribed in the law: they are, it is to be asserted, "according to the usage of the sea service," and therefore sanctioned by the first article of the act of 1800.

The three first articles of this statute, it has been shown, are designed to correct those who err in their conduct morally; no one of the offences named or alluded to is peculiar to military organization.

Articles four, five and six award death or such other punishment as a court-martial may adjudge, for neglect to prepare at the proper time for battle; for disobedience of orders, and for cowardice, negligence or disaffection during battle. Article seven enjoins the preservation and transmission to the proper officers of all papers found on board of prizes, and mulcts any invasion of this injunction, in the share of prize money due the offender. Embezzlement of property taken from the enemy, and pillage of prisoners are punishable by sentence of court-martial, according to articles eight and nine. Holding unauthorized intercourse with an enemy; failing to report within twelve hours the receipt of any letter or message from an enemy or rebel, subjects the offender to the penalty of death, according to articles ten and eleven. Article twelve provides that spies shall suffer death. According to article thirteen those convicted of mutiny shall suffer death; but mutinous or seditious practices may be punished at the discretion of a court-martial. Article fourteen provides "death or such other punishment as a court-martial shall inflict" for disobedience, and for assaulting or attempting to assault a superior officer on duty. Quarrelling is punishable at the discretion of a court-martial. The only penalty of deserting to an enemy, (article sixteen,) is death; but desertion without this aggravating circumstance, (article seventeen,) may be punished with death or otherwise at the discretion of a court-martial. Frauds against the United States, (article nineteen,) and loss or injury to vessels from heedless navigation are punishable at the discretion of a court-martial: but an officer who sleeps upon watch, (article twenty,) or otherwise neglects his duty, "shall suffer death" or other punishment; a private guilty of like offence may be flogged or put in irons. Murder committed by any one of

the navy while beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, (art. 21,) may be punished by death. Failure in discharging properly the duty of convoy of vessels, (art. 22.) is punishable at discretion of a court. To receive merchandize on board public vessels, (art. 23:) to waste or embezzle public property, (art. 24.) are punishable as a court may determine; but a wanton destruction of public property, (art. 25) incurs the penalty of death. Thefts of amounts of less than twenty dollars, (art. 26.) are punished at the discretion of the captain; beyond that value by sentence of a court. Offences committed against people on shore, (art. 27,) are subject to punishment by sentence of court-martial. Every person in the navy is liable to punishment, (art. 28,) if he fail to do his best to bring offenders against the law to trial. Article 29 relates to muster-rolls, books, &c., transfer of accounts, and directs that the captain "shall cause the rules for the government of the navy to be hung up in some public part of the ship, and read once a month to the ships company." It is common to see the commander's general orders for the internal regulation of the ship under his command hung up, but not "the rules for the government of the navy." Article 30 restricts authority to punish to the captain, and limits punishment by him to twelve lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails; but the authority was for many years exercised by the lieutenant on watch. Any master-at-arms who may suffer a prisoner to escape from his custody, (art. 31,) "shall suffer in such prisoner's stead." Crimes not specified, (art. 32,) are punishable "according to the laws and customs in such cases at sea." The remaining articles refer chiefly to the constitution of courts-martial, which are composed always of commissioned officers of the line exclusively, although neither the letter nor spirit of the law requires that members shall be of that class alone. There is one exception on record: a man was tried and convicted of murder by a court, convened under the authority of the late Commodore Jacob Jones in the Pacific, part of the members of which belonged to the medical staff of the squadron.

The second section of the act refers to courts of enquiry. The third section provides for the continuance of the authority of officers in case of wreck or loss of the vessel. Section 4, provides that the pay of those taken by the enemy is to continue. Section 5, makes prizes the property of the captors; and sections 6 and 7, relate to the distribution of prize money. The class of steam engineers were not in existence in the year 1800, and for this reason they are not mentioned in the law. Sections 8, 9, and 10 relate to pensions.

This brief summary of the act of 1800 shows how little it is in harmony with the spirit of the age; its barbarity might be inferred from the fact that there are not less than sixteen offences to which the penalty of death is attached.

To neglect to prepare for battle;

Disobedience of orders, or cowardice, or disaffection during battle;

To hold unauthorized intercourse with an enemy or rebel;

Failing to report within twelve hours, the receipt of a letter or message from an enemy or rebel;

To endeavor to corrupt any person in the navy to betray his trust;

To disobey the lawful orders of a superior officer;

To draw, or to offer to draw a weapon upon him;

To desert or entice others to desert;

To perform duty negligently;

To sleep on watch;

To leave his station before being regularly relieved;

To burn or unlawfully set fire to any kind of public property;

Mutiny and murder. And all these offences are alike punishable by death under this code.

But the most barbarian-like clause of the whole is the thirty-first, which makes the master-at-arms, (a petty officer who performs the functions of a jailor,) responsible for the crime of any prisoner who may escape from his custody: its language is, he "shall suffer in such prisoner's stead." This clause has never brought any master-at-arms to the gibbet, but its provision is not the less unchristian on that account: it partakes of the spirit of the Chinese law, which sanctions vicarious punishments for all crimes.

Truly, the hazards of life in the navy are numerous: it is exposed to the chances of battle, to the perils of the sea, to the pernicious influences of climate, and lastly to an antiquated and barbarous code of laws. It is true, Congress has abolished punishment by the cat-o'nine-tails; still, under a code which sets out with marked attention to minor morals and manners, and the establishment of a national religion afloat, men may be hung, or ignominiously shot to death, almost *ad libitum*.

There are certain features in this code which tend to develope and foster the self-esteem of those who hold office under it; especially of those in whom vanity naturally preponderates in the mental constitution. A midshipman, a mere boy, may be a "superior officer;" at any rate, he is likely to think he is always, relatively to privates. This reflection is not calculated to diminish his importance in his own estimation. If

he is a giddy youth, it may be anticipated he will soon acquire an imperative and overbearing deportment towards inferiors, as he is reminded monthly that the law puts at stake the life of any sailor who even offers him the slightest personal injury. Feeling that the law protects him from assault by an inferior, under penalty of death, and from simple insult or disrespect, under pain of the "cat," he acquires confidence. He may have no disposition to enforce the law; still it imparts to him a sense of security, in the same manner as arms at hand give a confidence where there is possibility of being attacked, even when one is decidedly averse to using either sword or pistol offensively. While the law, in this view of it, tends to encourage official vanity and pride, it exerts an humbling, an humiliating influence over privates. In some instances at least, instead of exhibiting a simple manly respect, they become cringing in manner towards officers of all degrees and quality.

The idea exists pretty extensively that the chief, if not the only objects of this law are to support officers of the line in the discharge of duty. It gives a discretion to captains and to courts-martial in awarding punishments for crime: as it is the practice to constitute courts of line officers exclusively, and as none can become captains except line-officers, it is easy to infer that power, respectability and distinction can inure only to the line: the staff is excluded. In the minds of very many, staff-officers are never admitted to an *official* level with those of the line under any circumstances whatever, although they pay to staff-officers, *unofficially*, due respect, and entertain for them personally, as much consideration and kindness as gentlemen can reasonably expect or desire from each other. If a surgeon and a purser of twenty years' experience in the navy, and a newly commissioned lieutenant of the line were directed to examine a cheese, and report in writing their opinion on its condition or quality, the chances are ninety-nine in a hundred, that the young lieutenant would claim as a right, inherent to his pertinency to the line, to place his signature to the joint report above that of the old surgeon and purser. Yet, in his opinion, perhaps nothing would be more preposterous, than to see the name of a senior lieutenant of the line, written below his own, on any official paper. There is a feeling, a tone of official supremacy among line officers of every grade, which they think their duty requires them to assert over staff-officers upon all *official* occasions. A line-officer of the grade of commander and a surgeon may have associated for years; and, as friends and mess-mates, shared in common the pleasures of life, and faced the dangers of battle and escaped shipwreck together: yet, while as an individual he would incur any risk to serve him, the commander would be a little disturbed, if that surgeon should so far question his precedence and supremacy, as to precede him in ascending a ship's side-ladder on an *official* occasion, or sign an official paper before him. His official self-esteem would be wounded, and he would, most probably, remind his friend of his own official importance.

This punctilious feeling is illustrated also by the names of classes in common use, which seem to have been contrived to foster the ideal superiority of the line: at least the sensitiveness of staff officers has suggested such a construction. Officers of the line have been erroneously termed "sea-officers," while those of the several staff departments, as the medical, the pay and provision, and the steam engineer departments, have been as erroneously called "civil officers." The duties of all are alike performed at sea, and therefore, the name "sea-officers" is equally appropriate to all: and, as all are alike subject to military laws, to military tribunals and customs, wear military badges and trappings, and are imbued with a common military tone and spirit; and, as the object of the combined labors and vocations of all are alike military, there is no propriety in calling any of them "civil officers." It is true, these names might be considered to be simply technical: but, even admitting this, they are not well chosen. Since officers have not been content to call themselves exclusively "sea-officers," they have also styled themselves "the officers proper of the navy," as if none others are properly officers of the navy. This indication of a desire on the part of line-officers to be prominently distinguished above the class miscalled "civil," has, in effect, diminished the respectability of the latter appellation in the navy, and made it, in a manner, distinctive of an inferior caste, composed of staff-officers, whose position in the navy is like that of a first wife's children in a family, ruled by a cold-hearted step-mother who has offspring of her own; they have the family name, but are not allowed an equal voice or position in the household, to the support of which they may contribute a full quota.

Professional ambition is laudable. But to vainly boast of belonging to a profession, as if all merit consisted in the membership, is almost inexcusable, even among very "young gentlemen." It is an honor to be of the navy, for the reason that the glory of its achievements sheds a distinguishing ray upon all its members, both ancient and modern, whether of the line or staff. In the language of the distinguished conqueror on Lake Erie: "There is glory enough for all;" no man need complain of his share, or seek more, by assuming titles, calculated to disparage the labors

of those in any department of the service, necessary to its efficiency.

There is nothing in the letter of the law of 1800 to warrant notions of the kind described; but its general spirit tends to produce the effect alluded to. Officers of the line commence their military career as boys, and grow up under this code; the notions inspired by it become so familiar to their minds, that their propriety is neither questioned nor examined.

This tone of line supremacy and line precedence, so continuously asserted, is not peculiar to our service. It is common in the British navy; but there it is less remarkable, because the punctilious attention given, in the society of Great Britain, to the consideration of rank and precedence, seems merely to find an analogue in the organization of the navy and army of an aristocratic government. Under a republican form of government, however, any assertion of supremacy of the sort stands out prominently and becomes remarkable, if not offensive. It is totally at variance with our political institutions and social condition. It might have been anticipated that military organizations, closely copied from those of an aristocratic government, would not harmonize with the principles and customs of a free democracy, under which the law gives no man precedence. If a citizen gains precedence or supremacy, he owes it to a common appreciation, by the public, of his distinguished talents, or merit of some kind, but never to legal enactment or official vocation.

When adult men, who have been educated and grown up under a democracy, enter the military service in the staff of either the army or navy, which is necessarily organized on the aristocratic principles of government, they find this assertion of precedence and supremacy of the line, on all official occasions, repugnant to all their established opinions. They soon become imbued with the military tone of the society of which they constitute a part; but they never learn to feel, they should always appear in public as the inferiors of their mess companions of the line. They feel that a law of seniority should be, in its operation, common to all. Probably this is the reason why the medical officers, as long ago as 1816, asked for a definite position, or assimilated rank, in the military organization of the navy. To very many, their pretensions and claims have not seemed to be unreasonable; but they have been continuously resisted by the line generally, and in spite of the general order of the Secretary of the Navy on the subject, issued in August 1846, the question is still mooted and remains unsettled. And it will probably thus remain until a code of laws, in harmony with our political creed and the progressive spirit of the age, is devised for the government of the navy.

It will be perceived that, in my poor opinion, these pretensions between officers of the line and of the staff about rank,* that is, relative position, have their origin exclusively in the antiquated law of 1800, in the system, the confused organization of the naval service, and in its want of harmony with our political and social condition.

Connected with the formation of a code of military law for the navy, there are several points of interest and importance, which should be deliberately considered: a navy is defined to be a body of citizens armed and trained to fight the enemy at sea—an army distributed in fortresses which move about on the ocean. A ship's company, in a frigate, compares with a regiment of the army; but the companies of the naval regiment are called "divisions." Besides fighting the great guns and discharging other purely military duties, our nautical soldiers, or men-of-wars-men, are required to manage the machinery, by which their fortress is made to move from place to place. They exercise, as it were, a double vocation; they are sailors and soldiers at the same time.

The object of a military organization by land or sea, is efficient military aggression and defence. Authority must be centered in one man; and to him all must render prompt and cheerful obedience to secure success. What is true in this respect of an entire army or navy, must be true of its separate, component divisions. All authority and power, necessary to fight and sail a ship, must be placed in a chief officer, the captain; but they should be strictly limited to these objects, so that the individuals subordinate to him, may each enjoy as much personal freedom of action as is necessary to happiness, and consistent with the circumstances of their situation. But it does not appear necessary, in order to secure prompt obedience, that the captain should possess plenary powers of punishment, or that individuals should possess neither rights nor privileges independent of his pleasure. Therefore,

*The meaning of the word rank, used as a military technicality, is relative position. It means nothing more nor less. It is sometimes used synonymously for the word grade; but a little examination will show that it should never be so used when precision is desired. There are several grades of line-officers: the grade of captains, the grade of commanders, of lieutenants, &c. All captains are of the same grade; but no two captains are of the same rank; every captain has a position which is relative to other captains, and (the senior excepted) is below some one in the grade. A ranks B, because his relative position is before that of B on the list: so, it is said, captains rank commanders; because the relative position of the grade of captains is before that of the grade of commanders in the classification or scale of military organization of the navy.

it becomes necessary to define carefully what are the rights and powers of all; and what degree of discretion may be safely allowed to each. A general responsibility must be required of the captain; therefore, a proportionate discretion should be given him to act; but it is not necessary he should be held specially or particularly responsible for every department in the ship. Particular responsibilities may be assigned, by law, to officers subordinate to him. The purser may be held responsible for the pay and provision department, and the surgeon for the individual and general treatment of the sick and hurt, independently of the captain. It is not necessary that the captain's authority should enable him to decide upon the correctness of the purser's accounts, or upon the condition of health of any individual, who may represent himself incapable to to discharge duty, or what course of treatment may be requisite for his recovery. The law should require him to aid both the surgeon and purser in the discharge of their respective duties, for which it holds them directly responsible. It is not necessary that the surgeon, or purser, or, indeed, the chief of any staff department in the ship, should be subordinate to any officer whatever, except the captain.

Prompt obedience cannot well be enforced without prompt or summary punishment. But, it does not follow, necessarily, that the power to punish must be given to an individual.—The object may be attained through the medium of a ship's court, composed of three or more officers, detailed under authority of the captain. A schedule of faults, offences and crimes, might be prepared, with the punishment annexed to each; and under it, the functions of a ship's court would be analogous to those of a jury; it would determine, by the evidence, upon the guilt or innocence of the accused; but the law alone would award the punishment. A very few minutes would be sufficient to try by such court, any of the petty gangway cases, which it is the practice now, for the captain alone to examine and adjudicate. A similar principle of trial might be adopted for the observance of courts-martial, in which the law of 1800, places too large a discretion. The feature of courts-martial most inconsistent with our political creed, is the sworn secrecy of the members as to each others votes. It is not perceived that an open vote or expression of opinion as to the guilt or innocence of a person would be dangerous, either to the members of the court, or to justice. Judges and jurors in civil courts do not find secrecy, as to their opinions in any case, necessary to their own personal safety. Whether it would be either safe or judicious, to go below the various grade of commission officers in the formation of courts, is questionable. In a very great degree. a commission is a guarantee of intelligence, probity and experience, which are important qualities, for any body clothed with power to decide upon the truth of allegations which involve chastisement in any form. Privates are not supposed to be endowed with these attributes; there are, doubtlessly, very many among them entirely capable to act as jurors. To make them eligible to such position, by selection under authority of the captain, would tend to elevate them and increase their self-respect, because it would open to them a path to distinction among their fellows, which, under the present system, has no existence. A ship of war is truly a microcosm—a little world in which public opinion exists and is respected; it only requires to be elevated and directed to make it as influential for the common good in a community at sea, as in a community on shore.

The punishment of individuals who disregard the law is designed for the common good of the community, by restraining those who are prone to imitate bad examples. That mode of punishment is best which most perfectly accomplishes the object, and at the same time, renders the necessity of its infliction the least frequent. But the best mode has not yet been ascertained.

All penal codes; all systems or modes of punishment; all plans for preventing offences against persons or property, or for securing obedience to authority, hitherto devised by the wisest legislators, are defective, if they have not entirely failed in their object. The Russian knout, the bastinado, the whipping-post, the rattan, the bamboo, the cat-o'-nine-tails, confinement in fetters, the solitude of the dark cell, imprisonment and labor in silence, restricted diet, branding, maiming, decollation, hanging and shooting, have been employed vigorously without improving the virtue or morals of men. Crimes are not less frequent or less shocking now, than they were a century since, either in Christian societies, or among the various communities of religious misbelievers. On the contrary, it is suggested that crime has increased in proportion as prisons have been made places of agreeable residence, and punishments of all kinds have been made seemingly more tolerable, and criminals more respectable.* It is even suspected there is more generous sympathy exerted in behalf of the vicious, of those who are guilty of crime in any of its gradations, from murder and arson down to the small-

*See, "The London Prisons," with an account of the more distinguished persons who have been confined in them. To which is added, a description of the chief provincial prisons: by Hepworth Dixon: London, 1850. Also: "Latter Day Pamphlets" No. 11, March, 1850. Model Prisons. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston, 1850.

est misdemeanor, than in favor of disease-and-poverty-stricken but virtuous and industrious citizens. A brutal courage often evinced in the perpetration of crime, attracts respect and excites pity for a condemned criminal, while the virtuous humility of poverty passes unheeded: a man would be spurned as an honest beggar, who, as a felon, forcibly detained in a palace of criminals, would provoke the respect and the activity of the benevolent to release him from the infliction of law. While this falsely called benevolence exists—while pity sheds more tears over the murderer than over his victim, it is not reasonable to expect that any system of punishment will be effectual in preventing crime. Even the limited protection which law is calculated to afford honest citizens against the violence and misdoing of the vicious, is diminished by the too frequently successful efforts of sympathizers of criminals to shield them from conviction on trial, and to procure pardon for them when condemned. Crime is thus indirectly encouraged by increasing the avenues and chances of escape from punishment.

Any system of punishment to be valuable. must be devised on a theory that it will be faithfully observed in practice; observation has led to the opinion that certainty of chastisement is more influential in securing obedience to law, than its severity.

There can be no punishment which does not involve suffering in body, or in mind. Then the question to be solved is, what kind and degree of pain can be inflicted on individual offenders, consistent with humanity, for the common advantage of the community?

Severity of punishment must always be in a ratio to the sensibility of the individual punished, just as the destructive effects of a projectile depend as much upon the degree of resistance it meets, as upon its own momentum. What would be inexpressible torture to one, might be only a tolerable degree of pain to another. For this reason it would be, perhaps, unjust, especially in a military community, to inflict the same kind and degree of punishment for the same misdeed, without reference to the sensibility of the culprit. Flagellation with a birch rod is sufficiently afflicting to a tender youth; but, such means of chastisement would rather excite the derision of a rude, stalwart Anglo-Saxon or athletic negro, than inspire dread of its repetition.

Men generally are influenced in their actions by fear, or by the prospect of advantage, real or imaginary. Men whose sentiments have been refined by education, are controlled by public opinion, by a fear of censure or a desire of praise: to a proud man, extinction of life is preferable to disgrace. But there are men whose stolidity and moral obtuseness is such that they are almost, if not entirely, incapable of distinguishing between approbation and censure. Men of the classes from which our ships are manned, in very many instances, can be convinced of wrong doing only by suffering corporal pain. Men of this description will always be found in our ships of war; at any rate, as long as the policy of using-up imperfectly elaborated, badly constituted citizens in the military services of the country, is encouraged. To exclude such men from the military service would be wise in one sense; but, it would, in fact, increase the class of ruffians and highwaymen among citizens. Not to provide means of restraint adapted to the low grade of moral constitution of such men, would be injudicious. What mode can be devised in place of flogging, which has been abolished, it seems, almost impossible to conjecture.

Among the objections to the infliction of stripes, as a means of correcting offenders and securing a due respect for law, it is urged that it is barbarous in fact, and degrading in effect.

Corporal punishment is, in appearance, more severe than mental infliction, because the manifestations of its pains are immediate and visible. Who will not admit, for example, that the mental anguish of a mother bereaved of her offspring is less easily borne than the pains of travail? A man of spirit suffers more from confinement during any considerable period, than from the infliction of a dozen lashes. Men-of-war sailors not unfrequently beg that confinement may be commuted to flogging. The severity of this mode of punishment I suspect has been over-estimated: I have no recollection of an instance of a culprit suffering in health as a consequence of being punished to the extent of a dozen lashes, but I have known men whose bodily condition has been impaired by long confinement.

It is because there are no palpable manifestations of pain in the modes of silent punishment, such as imprisonment in fetters, solitary confinement, the dark cell, restriction to bread and water—that they are less severe, less barbarous than corporal punishment. They do not, like the infliction of stripes or the shower bath, shock the public sensibility. The shriek of distress, the cry of pain, even when uttered by a quadruped, awakens sympathy in a man of feeling, and a desire to relieve the sufferer, no matter whether the patient be writhing under the "cat" of the law, the "key" of the dentist, or the surgeon's knife. Our sympathetic sense or instinct does not pause to know whether he who cries of bodily pain is virtuous or vicious, a saint or a cut-throat; our impulse is to extinguish the pain, or rather the manifestations of it, which are always disagreeable and disturbing.

Whether punishment by stripes is more degrading, morally, than any other mode of correction, depends very much, though not entirely, upon conventional ideas. A Mohammedan has four wives, and enjoys the respect of his fellow-citizens; but a Christian is degraded and disgraced in the community if he is known to have more than one. The Chinese officer suffers disgrace when he is deprived of a particular button or a peacock's plume; and, to crop the queue of a Chinese citizen by judicial sentence, is infinitely more degrading than corporal punishment with the bamboo. It is true, that some old men-of-war sailors boast that they have never been whipped; but, I have no recollection of any sailor who regarded flogging as a greater disgrace or degradation, than being put in irons, or who esteemed a ship mate less because he had been flogged or imprisoned, provided he bore the infliction without outcry, or as the phrase is, "like a man." For this reason, flogging has less effect in deterring others from committing offence. The disgrace or degradation which we might suppose *a priori* would attach to flogging, has been taken away by too frequent, and sometimes irregular, wanton and unjust resort to this mode of punishment. Although flogging has been abolished, it may be safely asserted, that if the question were submitted to a vote among sailors in the navy, the expression of opinion would be almost, if not entirely, unanimous, in favor of re-establishing the use of the cat-o'-nine-tails. Their reason is, that the lazy and skulking will seek and submit to confinement in irons in bad weather, and thus force all the work upon those who are well disposed to do their duty.

Flogging, as a means of punishment, either ashore or afloat, has one advantage over any kind of imprisonment. Its pains are limited to the culprit: those who may be dependent upon his labor, are not made to participate in the castigation, for the moment after its infliction, he may return to his avocation. For a similar reason, it is preferable to any system of penitential fines as a mode of punishing those offenders against the law, who rely upon their labor to procure daily food for themselves and families.

It has been suggested that in populous communities, offenders against law might be effectually restrained from the repetition of any offence by the infliction of stripes in public, but without publishing the name or exposing the face or person of the culprit. He would feel the pain of the flogging, but experience no degradation, because no one need be informed of the chastisement. If a vagrant, for example, guilty of drunkenness and turbulent conduct, were to be covered with a hood and gown, and flogged at a public whipping-post, it is supposed he would be unwilling to incur a repetition of the pain; while the same individual, punished by thirty days' confinement, on better food and in more comfortable lodgings than he is accustomed to while at liberty, would have no dread of a repetition of the chastisement. To individuals, possessed of little or no moral tone, mere confinement is no punishment. Such persons cannot be restrained by fear of degradation; they have neither character nor name to lose, and they are, therefore, sensible only to corporal pain. The question, then, may be, whether the infliction shall be upon the skin, by stripes, or through the medium of internal organs, by starvation, at the risk of health? especially in persons who are but poorly nourished under the most prosperous circumstances of their degraded habits.

It will be admitted that men in the navy have been flogged and kept in irons wantonly and unjustly; but the misuse of power is not a conclusive argument against its legal exercise. Arbitrary power confided to an individual who is not held strictly responsible in practice for the use he may make of it, is always liable to be abused.

It has been suggested as a popular and important objection to corporal punishment in the navy, that, not being equally applicable to all, it tends to the creation of privileged classes, because the law exempted officers from the lash; and, in corroboration of this position, it is urged, that the Constitution does not recognize distinctions among citizens of the United States. Therefore, officers should be obnoxious to the same kinds of punishment as privates for like offences; because the nature and enormity of an infraction of law cannot be justly measured by the rank or quality of the offender.

The formation of military government rests upon a legal recognition of classes. Every military community must consist of privates and officers; and these must be divided into classes, each having a peculiar position, with corresponding authority and respect assigned to it. For this reason, a military government, in the etymological sense of the term, is aristocratic, an aristocracy being a form of government in which the authority is confided to the nobles, to the exclusion of the people. In this form of government, it may not be either unjust or inexpedient to graduate the enormity of an offence by the quality or rank of the offender, and to establish different modes of correcting offences of the same character according to rank, that is, according to relative position and authority. The law of 1800, in this view, makes such distinctions. According to article 20, any officer of the navy who sleeps on watch shall suffer death, but a private may be put in irons or flogged, not exceeding a dozen lashes at the discretion of the captain. The con-

sequences of a private sleeping on watch are of little importance; but, in the case of a lieutenant, they might be fatal to the safety of the ship.

But the most cojent argument against flogging in the navy or army, is, that this mode of punishment is not in harmony with the institutions of our country. If whipping-posts were in general use on shore, I see no conclusive reason why flogging, properly limited, should not be practise in the navy.

Imprisonment does not seem to exert much influence in preventing crime or reforming criminals on shore, if we may rely upon statistics. It is questionable whether this mode of punishment is, in itself, or in its effects, less degrading than that flagellation. In a very populous district, the number withdrawn, for the purpose of punishment by imprisonment, from the labor or work to be done in the district, is scarcely, if at all, perceived; but, in a small community, in a ship of war, for example, in which every private's physical force is appreciable, and in which every private has an allotted duty to perform, no one can be withdrawn without imposing that one's duty on others. Twenty men may be required to reef a sail without extraordinary toil, but if five should be imprisoned, the whole work falls upon fifteen, who are thus made to participate in a punishment not merited by themselves, but justly awarded by law to their five fellow-reefers. The summary punishment by flogging, is, for this reason, better adapted to the circumstances of a small community at sea.

The offences which may be committed against law in a navy or army, may be embraced in two divisions: one includes only those incident to military life, such as mutiny, mutinous conduct, holding unauthorized intercourse with an enemy being a spy, sleeping on post, desertion, neglect of duty, performing duty negligently, cowardice, disobedience of orders, disrespect to superiors, oppression of inferiors, indulgence in vicious practices, as gambling, intoxicaton, lying, skulking, &c., quarrelling, waste or embezzlement of public property, making false or fraudulent reports; and among officers, assumption of illegal power, and dishonorable conduct. The other division includes offences against law, which may be committed in civil life, such as murder, arson, larceny, assault and battery, &c.

The offences in the first division, should be carefully classed and defined; and punishments graduated and assigned to each according to its enormity or importance. These punishments should be speedily awarded, and promptly inflicted. The modes of punishment should be adapted to the circumstances of the community for whose benefit they are designed. The correction of offences under the second division may be by the same modes, at any rate, with slight modification, as are in use in the United States; murder and arson by hanging; larceny, by imprisonment, &c., &c. It should be borne in mind that ships of war do not embrace space for jails or prisons; and the only effectual mode of confinement is to place prisoners in irons between the guns on deck, under the watch of a sentinel.

This whole subject is of great interest to the navy, and indirectly to the nation. This consideration, I offer as apology for dwelling so long upon a law, the provisions of which, are a half century behind the times, and in conflict with a spirit of progress, which characterises the present age.

There is no definite naval organization; there is no law establishing grades of officers, or rank for them; and, practically, there is no law for the government of the navy. The whole service, as far as relates to fundamental law, is in a state of confusion and contradiction. Under the present fashion of legislating, there is not much hope of speedy reformation. During a session of Congress, the current affairs of the navy occupy all the attention which members of the standing naval committees can conveniently divert from their general duties as representatives. The naval committee, without overlooking other matters, has not the time necessary to examine all the points which deserve consideration, in devising fundamental laws for the organization and government of the navy. To act intelligently, the members should possess a certain appreciation of technical facts and opinions; but they have no time, even if they were desirous to do so, to collect facts or to estimate the true value of opinion, independently of the mere weight of authority.

For twenty years past, efforts have been made from time to time, to establish an organization and law for the navy, through the agency of boards of experienced line-officers. The propositions of those boards have never been entirely acceptable. They have generally borne the stamp of conservatism, or they have been redolent of the age and prejudices, which, in many instances, characterised the members of those boards. They seemed not to have looked beyond the track of their own individual experience, which consisted in seeing done when last at sea under their own command, what they had seen done in 1801, also under their own command. Their experience was without variety, and often without comparison or observation. They might be simply gentlemen who follow an established routine, which they had acquired as midshipmen fifty or more years ago; and because they had repeated all the various steps of that routine very many times over, they were supposed to have acquired an experience which eminently fitted them to legis-

late for the whole navy. But experience, which teaches improvement, does not consist in witnessing an act, many times repeated, through a long series of years. Such repetition establishes the act strongly in the memory, without adding anything whatever to useful knowledge. Opinion based on such experience, is of little value, even when uttered by the most respectable gentlemen of advanced age. Truth is to be acquired only by comparing the differences and resemblances of phenomena, moral or physical, in the various relations and circumstances under which they may be presented. To observe and compare phenomena successfully, is not within the mental power of all men; and taking the several reports made by them as evidence, it may be supposed, very few of those gentlemen did more than put on paper what they remembered to have seen. Those reports are copies one from the other, with occasional varieties of language. A comparison of the codes of regulations of 1802, 1818, 1833, 1841 and 1843, exhibits so much similarity of tone and object, that it is easy to imagine they had all been prepared by the same hand. They have increased in size, not by the addition of new ideas, but by expanding old ones into detailed statements. They are all characterized by a British origin; though far from being faithful copies, they may be termed imitations.

A special committee of Congress, with power to send for persons and papers, authorized to sit during a long recess, might collect all the facts and opinions required to enable it to present a law which would cover the ground of organization and of government. Such a committee should consult separately, a dozen or more men of reputed intelligence, from every grade and vocation in the service, and patiently cross-examine, them all, as has been done sometimes when about to legislate for the manufacturing or other interests, involving a necessity of technical knowledge.

There has been too much legislation based on the suggestion or representation of individuals: and this has led to the many imperfections and fallacies which might be cited from the statute book. We have had this kind of legislation by a few of the older officers of the line from time to time, for a half century. The navy is still without organization, and will continue to be, until the system is changed, and the work of naval legislation is taken from navy officers and assumed in earnest by Congress to which it rightfully belongs.

—

CHAPTER VI.

General Quarters; All hands overboard; Sharks: How Fishes breathe air; Varieties of Sharks; Fish Stories; A Sail at night; Sketch of a sailor; Pursers' names; A man may have no shadow; Punishment; A case stated and examined; A word in favor of flogging; Penal starvation—May cause disease; Infliction of Punishment should not depend upon the opinion of a surgeon; Usage of the sea-service.

April 4th, Lat. 19°44′ north: Long. 48°44′ west. We have a calm, summer sea; the temperature of the air in the shade is 81°F. Since sailing from Norfolk, now almost a month, this is the first day that a table could be set without fixtures to secure plates and dishes upon it. All the ports on the gun deck were open; the guns were run in, and the deck was dry for the first time in the course of the voyage.

The opportunity was seized upon for "exercise at general quarters," for an hour.

While the drum "beat to quarters," the wind sails were drawn up, and the several hatchways covered with gratings, except a space about two feet square, in each which was left open for the passage of cartridges from the magazine below to the battery. The galley fire was extinguished, and candles in lantherns lighted on the berth-deck. There is considerable bustle and noise during the minute or two occupied in making these preparations and from the men hurrying to their assigned stations. Then there is a moment of almost profound silence. The medical officers and their assistants are stationed on the berth-deck in sloops, in the cock-pit on board of frigates, and on the orlop deck of ships of the line, prepared to minister to those wounded who may require surgical aid immediately. Humanity, as well as other considerations, has led to the selection of the least exposed situations, for the accommodation of the wounded during battle, but it must not be supposed that even in frigates, the wounded, and those whose duty is to succour them, are entirely beyond the reach of hostile missiles. Instances have occurred, of wounded men being killed in the cock-pit by shot from the enemy. A late surgeon in the navy, saw two men killed by round shot while he was dressing their previously received wounds. It may be readily imagined that to be useful during an engagement at sea, medical officers must possess coolness and self-possession in a high degree; without such qualities they would be unable to determine upon the use of the knife, or to employ it amidst the din of battle, by candle-light, in a very imperfectly ventilated apartment. It is sometimes necessary that medical officers should render assistance to those on deck who may be wounded.

The first sounds which reach us below, proceed from the mustering of the privates in their sev-

eral "divisions." The ship's company is divided into "divisions," each under the immediate command of a lieutenant. A division in the navy is equivalent to a company of artillery in the army. The marines are commonly assembled on the spar-deck under their appropriate officers. After the privates have answered to the roll-call, the lieutenants report their "divisions" respectively to the senior lieutenant on the quarter-deck, where he is stationed in company with the commander and sailing-master. A very important division or company of privates is stationed on the berth-deck, which is usually under the immediate command of the purser. The men are arrayed in lines, at convenient distances, extending from the magazine and shot lockers to the several hatches. They are employed in passing shot and cartridges from below to the battery.

It is an invariable usage on board men of war, to load the guns immediately after leaving port, that they may be in readiness to resist attack without delay. The unprovoked and unexpected attack of the British frigate Leopard on the Chesapeake, in June, 1807, just after sailing from Hampton Roads, shows the necessity of being ever ready. That lesson will never be forgotten.*

The tackling of the great guns was cast loose. The lieutenants gave the order, "right abeam; take good aim; fire!" and then as if the order had been obeyed, the men pulled in the gun. Then came the mingled cries of the commanders of the several divisions—"in vent and sponge; cartridge, wad; one round shot, wad; ram home." The completion of these several acts was announced by the captains of the guns in a prolonged cry of, "Home." Then came the order to "run out," "elevate for a long shot," "fire;" and thus continued the din of running in and out of guns by the different "divisions" without observance of time with each other, and the irregular alternation of "run out," "shot," "home!" "stand of grape," "wad," "in vent and sponge," for nearly an hour. It seemed all confusion; but it was all in perfect order, as an enemy will ever find when our mimic fight is changed to earnest Now the exercise suddenly changed. The sail-trimmers were called from the guns; then came a stentorian shout, "Away, first and second division of boarders; to the lee bow." Next an alarm of fire was given, and the firemen rushed to the make-believe point of conflagration, armed with buckets of water; but the gravity of this part of the exercise generally gave way to a temptation to empty the buckets on each other. In a word, every situation and condition which can occur in a fight are supposed, and the necessary evolution to meet it performed. In the end, the drum sounds a retreat, and all is restored to the *statu quo ante bellum*. What a relief it is to get off the gratings from the hatches, and have the windsails pouring down streams of fresh air upon those confined below, for a hot hour in a stifling atmosphere. To fully understand this, one must be convinced that man lives upon air, and upon nothing else. There never has been a more absurd or falser sophism than that contained in the assertion—"Man can't live upon air." The author of that saying had no experience in "the black hole of Calcutta;" if he had, he would have spoken of air as an ingredient of bodily nutrition in a more respectful tone—he would know that air is the substantial, essential part of diet, and that the various viands and vegetables are to be regarded as so many piquant sauces to help one devour largely of the main dish. Stop a man's allowance of air, and you find he has no relish for beef or bread, or even for grog.

Exercise at "general quarters" involves a great deal of muscular effort, and consumes a good deal of nerve-force, especially on a hot day, if we may judge by the consequent fatigue. But it is in this way that men are drilled and prepared for conflict; and to omit "exercise at general quarters," is to omit a most important act. The exercise of men in the "Division drill" is preliminary, elementary to the first; but cannot be safely relied on as a substitute for it.

Experiments were satisfactorily made with the explosive shot invented by Paixhan.

The day being calm and warm, a sail was spread a few feet under water, alongside of the ship, and the boatswain piped "all hands to jump overboard." Most of the men gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of a sea-bath; in a few minutes, as many as fifty men were swimming over the submerged sail. The temperature of the water was 76°F. The blacks were special objects of attention, particularly those who were reluctant to come in contact with the briny element. One or two were seized, stripped of their clothes, a rope tied round the waist, and then thrown overboard, in a state of alarm not easy to describe, though it afforded great mirth to the beholders of the scene. I believe that all were improved by the immersion.

While the men were in the water, there appeared at no very great distance, a slender, dark-looking rod, rising several inches perpendicularly above the surface, moving swiftly and noiselessly towards us. Every one of experience recognized the dorsal fin of a shark, but his proximity was not sufficient to excite alarm for the safety of the swimmers, although his approach was not unheeded.

This animal is unreservedly detested by all

* See Cooper's Naval History

sailors and sea-faring people. No sooner is one caught than he is precipitately attacked, knife in hand, by as many as can come near enough to deal a blow. I have been often present at the capture of sharks, by men-of-war sailors, but I have never yet had the good fortune to see one of those voracious fishes on a ship's deck before is was wounded or mutilated.

The family of sharks, (Squalidœ.) is constituted of a number of genera and species, and belongs to the order of Cartilaginous fishes, so named from the peculiar nature of the skeleton of these animals. Though fishes breathe air, they have no lungs like mammals, but in place of those essential organs, are supplied with an apparatus, found on the sides of the head, called gills, through means of which the process of respiration is carried on. The quantity of atmospheric air, which exists mingled in water every where, is sufficient to supply the quantity of oxygen, necessary to maintain life in fishes and animals of less complicated structure, which exist beneath the sea. The arrangement of fishes' gills is not uniform throughout; naturalists have, therefore, found it convenient to take their peculiarities as some of the characteristics for classification. One order of fishes is characterised by having the gills fixed at their extremities to the outer-sides of the gill cavity, and having a series of holes or apertures, through which the water that enters the mouth passes out, instead of the free and open arrangement seen in a shad or perch. Fishes which have a breathing apparatus of this kind, constitute a group or assemblage named the order of cartilaginous fishes with fixed gills; or, in the more precise, though less familiar language of classic writers on natural history, *Chondropterygii branchiis fixis.* And under this not very euphoniously named order, the family of sharks is described—a family of incalculable antiquity, as is clearly proven in the record of it, contained in what geologists call the tertiary strata of the earth. In the tertiary beds of Malta, fossil teeth of sharks four and a half inches long have been found, from which fact the organic degeneration of the race may be inferred. There are still, however, very respectable representatives of the family in existence; respectable for size, and for their rapacious, bloodthirsty propensities. Of the whole, perhaps the White Shark, (*Carcharias vulgaris,*) is the most dreaded; it may be regarded as the tiger of the deep. When full grown, the body attains a length exceeding twenty feet, and its enormous jaws, armed with a very great number of triangular teeth, arranged in rows, are capable of sufficient expansion to swallow a man. The Blue Shark, (*Carcharias glaucus,*) rarely exceeds seven feet in length. The Fox Shark, or Thresher, (*Carcharias vulpes,*) is from ten to twelve feet in length, and is distinguished by the unequal size of the lobes of the tail, the upper one being two or three times the longest. The name Thresher is derived from the supposed propensity the animal possesses to attack whales, which are always said to be most cruelly threshed; and when the sword-fish joins in the combat, the whale is almost always killed. The thresher is said to throw himself high out of water and fall upon the whale, who, to escape his antagonist, dives into the depths of the sea, to be driven again to the surface by a lunge of the sword-fish from below. My own experience does not enable me to confirm, or to contradict these notions. The Shovel-nose Shark, called also the Balance-fish, the Sea-mallet, and Hammer-headed Shark, (*Zygæna vulgaris,*) is about nine feet in length. The head, viewed from above, is somewhat in form of a parallellogram, set transversely to the body of the animal, so that in large specimens the eyes are at least two feet asunder. But the largest animal of the name, is the Basking Shark, or Whalebone Shark, *(Selache maximus.)* which is said to attain a length of nearly forty feet. This animal is less rapacious than others of the race; it is supposed, from the length and peculiar arrangement of the digestive organs, to feed chiefly on vegetable substances. It is asserted, that the liver alone of one of these sharks has been ascertained to weigh a thousand pounds.*

The nose of the shark projects far in advance of the mouth, which, from this circumstance, opens nearly under the middle of the head. In attacking, therefore, the animal settles downwards over his prey when favorably situated, or otherwise turns upon his side or back, with the jaws expanding in readiness to gulp down his victim. Expert swimmers, such as are found among divers engaged in the pearl fisheries, and the natives of some of the Pacific Islands, successfully engage in combat with sharks, stabbing them with knives.

Dr. J. V. C. Smith relates that a gold watch, chain and seals were found in the stomach of a captured shark, which were recognized by a gentleman, as a gift he had made to a nephew who had been drowned a short time previously on his passage to Jamaica. The same author states that, in the harbour of Boston, sometime during the year 1831, a shark attacked a man in his boat, overcame and devoured him.

Mr. Lesueur has described, (in the Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia,) a shark, (*Squalus elephas,*) taken on the coast of New Jersey, which measured thirty-two

* See Natural History of the Fishes of Massachusetts. By Jerome V. C. Smith, M. D. Boston. 1833. p. 105.

feet, ten inches in length and eighteen feet in circumference. By forcibly expanding them, there was space enough betwixt the jaws to permit a man to sit upright in a chair within their grasp. Müller speaks of a shark which weighed 4,500 pounds; and it has been authoritatively asserted, that the entire, unmutilated body of a man has been found, more than once, in the stomach of a shark.

A considerable number of years have passed since I made the following notes, while on the eastern coast of Africa:

"One calm afternoon, several of those huge animals of the deep were seen sailing, several feet below the surface, through the transparent ocean. A large hook was immediately armed with two or three pounds of salt pork, and thrown overboard. To prevent the shark from carrying off the bait in triumph, two or three feet of an iron chain connected the hook to the line. In a few minutes one of those sea-pirates made his appearance, urging himself gracefully through the water by an occasional impulse of his tail, after which his whole body shot along without giving any sign of life. Presently he spied the pork, and, with a single effort, darted forward thirty or forty yards, then rolling upon his side, seized the fatal hook; and the fisherman at the same instant jerked the line.

"The taffrail, at the time, was crowded, both by officers and men, to see the sport, for the most incorrigible animosity seems to hold against these creatures. When the fisherman jerked the line, a dozen voices cried, 'You've got him—you've got him;' and the shark was dragged under the ship's quarter, where his head was raised above water. Then those on board looked down in triumph upon their enemy, who glared his great eyes upon them, with a look rather betokening distress than fierceness, but no one was mollified sufficiently to propose to let the poor devil go.

"The next operation was to slip a noose over his head, which was not so easily accomplished, for whenever the rope touched him, the shark became nervous and made violent efforts to escape, and thus endangered tearing out, or breaking the hook. At last, after several fruitless attempts, the noose was secured, and the prisoner brought on board. Scarcely was he 'landed on deck,' as the sailors say, before an axe had severed the tail from the body, and Jack's knife became familiar with his bowels. In a very few minutes the heart lay palpitating upon the fluke of an anchor, and his flesh, while yet quick with life, was conveyed to the frying-pan of the cook, leaving the tail, which was nailed up as a trophy, figuring in the eyes of sportsmen, after the style of a fox's brush, or a deer's antlers, (or perhaps a white man's scalp in an Indian wig-wam,) and the back-bone and jaws, which two or three sailors industriously set to work to scrape clean to make natural curiosities for some marine museum.

"The size of our prize did not exceed twelve feet in length; it was not large, if we are to credit the stories of sharks caught with whole horses in their stomachs. Talking about sharks—I heard an officer tell that one was caught while cruising in the West-Indies, where they are very numerous, of most enormous dimensions. Indeed, if I had not heard the story with my own ears, I do not know whether I should be able to believe it, much less repeat it with any expectation of credence: in fact, I doubt whether print could have rendered it credible. This West-India shark had been observed following the vessel for several days, and the minds of the sailors were filled with consternation; for there is a superstitious belief amongst them, that a shark following a ship so many days, portends the death of some one on board. Therefore, to avert a catastrophe so melancholy, it was determined to derstroy the spectre thus haunting them. Fifteen or twenty pounds of pork were secured to a large hook, almost as large as a boat's anchor, and thrown overboard. In a few minutes the fish voraciously seized the bait, and was fairly caught and brought alongside. There he was, slung in several nooses of rope, and by aid of a tackle on the main yard, hoisted on board. Axes and knives were, as usual, set to work, and in a short time the animal was disembowelled, and, 'What do you think was found inside of him?' asked the narrator, after pausing long enough to afford all present an opportunity to answer, he added—'A sentry-box, with the door wide-open, and a soldier on post with fixed bayonet!"

"'I do not doubt it," said a very grave gentleman, who was present, 'for I have witnessed something in the way of sharks almost as incredible as that—and as the preacher says, I will tell you what it was. You are all aware of the animosity of sailors against the whole tribe. Well, a shark, almost as large as that West-Indian of yours, was caught on board a ship not far from Trincomalee, and, according to custom, the crew began the attack as soon as he was on deck. One of the men came forward, I think he was one of the carpenters's gang, armed with a broad-axe, and with all his strength struck a blow at the animal's head. At the same instant the shark sprang forward and seized the axe between his teeth, and when it was wrenched out, which was not easily done, by the united force of many men, so strong was the grasp of the jaws, that the axe was split into filaments or teeth, and bore a strong resemblance to a fine tooth comb.'

"Although I am not exactly prepared to believe this last story, I have seen, in my short period of sea service, so many strange things, that I cannot exactly doubt its authenticity. Besides, I think, my doubting it, might not make it untrue, and I should run the risk of involving myself in a duel with the gentleman; but as you are not acquainted with him you may express any opinion you please on the subject, for, although I think he intimated he could produce the broad-axe to corroborate his statement, I do not recollect that he named the carpenter who struck the blow. Let me recommend one caution, however; scepticism on subjects of natural history is very dangerous; I have seen more than I dare tell with any hope of being believed."

The flesh of the shark is not very savory, whether stewed, fried or boiled; but may be eaten in preference to beef which has been steeped three years in salt, and become, through chemical reaction, as hard and almost as tasteless as mahogany. But the Chinese find in sharks' fins a delicacy, which they seek under a belief that they exert a rejuvenating influence, in some way opposed to the theories of Malthus.

April 5th. Lat. 19°35′ north; Long. 49°04′ west: temperature 82°F.

Last evening we saw the new moon, just twelve hours after the change; and the southern Cross was visible about fifteen degrees above the horizon, the whole circle of which was piled up with ash-colored clouds, said to be peculiar to the region of the north-east trade winds.

The first part of the night was very pleasant; a clear sky, a gentle breeze, and a smooth sea. Several officers were walking the deck, some were lounging on the taffrail, and the whole watch seemed engaged in a pleasant conversation. In an instant the tranquillity of the scene was broken, by a cry from one of the cat-heads. "Light, ho!"

"Where away?" demanded the officer of the deck.

"Right ahead, sir," replied the look-out.

"Keep her away, a point, Quarter Master."

In a moment all were peering into the distance, to discover the light, which proved to be borne by a vessel steering nearly in our track, but in an opposite direction, with studding-sails set. We conjectured she was from Brazil, bound to the United States; and this conjecture made us regret that we had not met in the day, because we possibly might have put letters on board of her. She kept on her way; and disappeared in our wake, under the shadow of clouds which under-hung the new-moon.

April 7th. Lat. 16°04′ north; Long. 45°53′ west. To night we gaze in admiration on a tropical sky; a brilliant new moon and bright, twinkling stars set in an azure field. The Southern Cross and Great Bear are both in sight; but in a few days, the north star will be lost to our view.

Soon after I joined the ship at New York, I was very cordially grasped by the hand and welcomed by a sailor, whose form and features were very familiar to me. My friend, whose name I did not at the instant recollect, soon made me understand we had been shipmates before; and that he remained grateful for some kindness which I had forgotten. I was unable to associate this man with his present name; but a little reflection connected him with small events of a former cruise in India, and these brought fresh to my memory the name then belonging to this individual. Standing close to him on deck the other day, I said, "Sutton, what made you change your name? When we sailed together fifteen years ago, your name was Sutton."

"Yes, sir! but that was not my right name; that was my Purser's name; I did not change it for any rascality. You see, I've got decent relations, and I got to drinking badly, and it distressed 'em so much, I ran away and shipped; and to save 'em the trouble of looking for me, I took a Purser's name, and called myself John Sutton. Then when we got home, I went to see my folks, and they were so glad to see me, I thought, as I did nothing to disgrace myself by being in the service, I would ship again by my right name, John Griffin. You see it was all done in a bit of a frolic, and no harm has come of it to any body."

A day or two since, Griffin, who holds the office of ship's painter, was engaged in renewing the paint on the iron work of a gun carriage, near which I was standing. His countenance told me he was inclined to talk, and to indulge his inclination I remarked, "Well, Sutton, do you drink as much as ever; you know you were a pretty hard boy."

"Why, sir, I do not drink so often now; but, somehow, I can't give it up. You see, I have tried very hard; and cried over it as much as any poor devil you ever heard of, but it's no use. You see, there's two kinds of people born in this world; one kind is born to be drunkards, and one is not, and it's God's will, and there's no use of trying agin it."

"But, Griffin, you do God great injustice by supposing he designs to make you a miserable drunkard, in spite of your own sense. We are all free agents, and God has made us all equal in this respect. He has given out that all men are born free and equal; that is, every man may use his ability without hindrance, as long as he does not harm his neighbors."

"Well," said Sutton, turning a quid of tobacco in his cheek, "may be, God has Yankee notions on this subject; but I only get drunk now and then; you know, when I am sober, I am a good man, and harmless as a lamb."

This conversation, quaint enough in its way, reminded me that this man was ill at Bombay, of a fever, which at the same time, had prostrated a large number of the ship's company. An application of leeches, which are in that place very large and active, had been directed. I sat not far from the patient at night—out of sight—resting against a gun. Presently, I heard the well known voice of the Surgeon's Steward, who had just applied the leeches, in a tone that proved him to be drunk, say—Sutton—Sut—Sutton; I am under—your cot: if, you faint, Sutton; call me, Sutton; I say, Sutton, my boy, do you hear?"

Poor Sutton! At a subsequent period of the present cruise, he was aloft, when his head was unsteady from too strong potations, and he fell to the deck. He died a few days afterwards from the effects of the injuries he had received.

April 10th. Lat. 9°39′ north; long. 41°37′ west; thermometer 80° F; weather sultry. The wind does not favor us. There is reason to fear a long passage; we may not be able to get far enough to the eastward to enable the ship to pass Cape St. Roque without tacking and beating against the wind, which will require time. There are Mother Carey's Chickens and two or three Portuguese men-of-war around the ship; and the "tide rips" on the surface, caused by what seamen name the "equatorial currents" which are setting us to the westward at a rate of more than a mile an hour, and out of our course.

Strange are the wonders of the world. Phenomena whose causes are not recognizable by men, are wonders; what is plain to the educated and instructed, may astonish or even terrify the ignorant. To-day we are without a shadow; the sun is vertical, and therefore, we have none. I once related to an eager listener, among the remarkable things which had fallen in my way, that I had been in the sunshine when my body cast no shadow. The effect was, to make him discredit all my statements. "It is impossible," said he, "for a man to stand in the sunshine and not make a shadow, unless he is possessed of the devil."

Seamen find great entertainment in speculating on the origin of currents. To them it is of great interest to ascertain, because there is a notion it would unable them to counteract the influence which currents exert upon the course of a ship in making her way over the trackless waste of waters.

April 12th. Lat. 6°17′ north; long. 37°58′ west; thermometer 81° F. The crew was exercised at "general quarters."

"All hands" were called "to witness punishment." The subjects of it were negroes, two servants; one stout, of athletic proportions and remarkable for his strength; the other smaller, slender, and in no respect above mediocrity in corporal power. Peter, the smaller one, had been drawn into a dispute with John, who struck him a blow which was promptly returned; in a word, a fight came off between them. John had been charged with stealing a pair of boots and selling them to one of the sailors. The charge was admitted by the accused, who acknowledged that he had stolen raisins, &c., on a former occasion. Several articles had been missed from the Ward-room, and for this reason the senior Lieutenant suggested that "an example" should be made of John.

This case falls under the provisions of certain articles of the law of 1800:

"Article 14. No officer or private in the Navy, shall disobey the lawful orders of his superior officer, or strike him, or draw, or offer to draw, or raise, any weapon against him, while in the execution of the duties of his office, on pain of death, or such other punishment as a court-martial shall inflict."

"Article 15. No person in the Navy shall quarrel with any other person in the Navy, nor use provoking or reproachful words, gestures, or menaces, on pain of such punishment as a court-martial shall adjudge."

But it is believed that personal quarrels with or without fisty-cuffs, between privates, are rarely, if ever, brought before a court-martial in the Navy, for investigation. The authority assigned to courts-martial by these two articles, as far as relates to privates, is commonly assumed by the commander, who, for the occasion, constitutes himself a court of *oyer-et-terminer* of summary proceeding. Indeed, a little reflection will lead to the conclusion that the petty quarrels ending in a boxing-match between privates, although worthy of notice and punishment, are not sufficiently grave, to require the interference of a court of the highest degree, known in military law. Such a court, for the sake of its own dignity, if nothing else, would be prone to award a much higher degree of castigation than such petty misbehavior merits; therefore, in disregarding the law thus far, and assuming authority in the premises, the commander pays respect to humanity and good sense.

"Article 26. Any theft, not exceeding twenty dollars, may be punished at the discretion of the Captain, and above that sum, as a court-martial shall direct."

The statute authorises the Commander, in

such a case as that stated above, to punish for the theft according to his own discretion; but, for the quarrel, it gives him no power to chastise the culprits. For the reasons stated, it would be unjust to censure a commander for a seeming disregard of law, in punishing privates who may engage in personal quarrels. Although assault and battery does not constitute a criminal offence, it is probable, all such assumptions of authority, could be defended under the following:

"ARTICLE 32. All crimes committed by persons belonging to the Navy, which are not specified in the foregoing articles, shall be punished according to the laws and customs in such cases at sea."

When all hands were assembled, the marines drawn up in line on the quarter deck, and the officers armed with drawn swords, the two negroes were brought to the gangway by the master-at-arms. They were stripped of every article of dress except the trowsers, and a cat-o'-nine-tails placed in the hands of each. No reason was assigned publicly for this proceeding. The commander addressed them this pithy speech:—"You wanted to fight; now go to work and lick each other."

John, the big negro, used his "cat" pretty sharply, but Peter did not return the blows, until the commander exclaimed: "Why the ——, don't you use your cat?" Thus encouraged, he struck irregularly and without much effect. Presently, John seized Peter's "cat," and held it in one hand while he plyed his own "cat" with the other. After a few rounds, to the great amusement of the spectators, who testified their approbation by shouts of laughter, the commander said: "That will do: now, when you want to fight again, apply to me."

A "grating" of wood, used to cover the hatchways, was now placed on the deck, near the side of the ship, and John stood upon it, stretching up his arms at length, to the hammock-rail above his head, where his hands were lashed, while his feet were secured to the grating by stout cords. The master-at-arms covered the shoulders and back of the culprit with his shirt; and a boatswain's mate stood at a convenient distance, without his hat, armed with the "cat," ready to act in obedience to orders.

The commander remarked: "I suppose you know what you are to be licked for?" John replied affirmatively.

"Go on with him, boatswain's mate," rejoined the commander.

At the word, the master-at-arms lifted the shirt and stepped back with it, beyond the reach of the instrument of punishment, and the boatswain's mate, "according to the custom in such cases at sea," cleared his "cat" and laid its weight fairly across the jetty shoulders. The sharp crack of the thongs broke the silence, and instantly the master-at-arms said in a clear tone of voice, "one." The blows were repeated in quick succession, and the count was kept audibly until the legal dozen was reached, when the commander again interrupted: "That will do;" and turning to the first-lieutenant, continued: "You can pipe down, Sir."

In the mean time, the master-at-arms covered the culprit's back with his shirt; and John was speedily released from his uncomfortable position. He did not flinch under the infliction; or in the language of his shipmates, "he bore his flogging like a man," and, in their eyes, suffered no disgrace or degradation, either in consequence of the theft or the punishment.

Such cases never suffer enough to require medical or surgical treatment; for, however, severely the skin may smart and burn for an hour or two after this kind of stimulant, the sufferers always are too dignified to complain. Though John, in respect to public opinion, kept his dorsal sensations a profound secret, it is conjectured he would not risk having them renewed for the value of a pair of boots, added to several handfuls of raisins. All his subsequent pilferings, if indeed, he again ever indulged in such propensities at any subsequent period of the cruise, were doubtlessly conducted with the greatest circumspection, in fearful remembrance of the "cat."

It cannot be denied that this flogging a fellow is a revolting sight, and for the time, no doubt, sufficiently painful; but, is it not better for the individual, and also for the community of which he constitutes a part, than to force him to expiate the offence by confinement in irons for thirty days on bread and water diet exclusively. It must not be forgotten, that a flogging to the extent of a dozen lashes, well laid on, does not impair the vigor of a healthy man; he is in a condition for the discharge of his duty, the next hour after the infliction. But the problem is to be solved, what length of time, after a diet of bread and water for thirty days, must elapse before the culprit will be able to earn his pay: or how far such treatment may permanently injure the healthy condition of a subject possessed of what is termed a lymphatic temperament, in which the powers of nutrition and assimilation are naturally sluggish. Men of damaged constitutions, though seemingly in sound health; men who inherit a predisposition to consumption of the lungs, to scrofula and the like, or who have any tendency to scurvy, would have developed those diseases, in all probability as a consequence of such a penitential diet continued during a month. The laws which govern the animal functions cannot be infringed with impunity. Legislators should

devise their modes of treating crime in full view of this fact; and not attempt to shift the responsibility of hazarding health and life in any one of their fellow-citizens, by imposing upon a medical officer the duty of deciding how long a man may be tortured by starvation without damage to his health. It is unjust to make a medical officer the arbiter between law and its victim. While respect to the law demands that the slow punishment should continue till the end of the allotted period, humanity requires that the prisoner should be rescued from the chances of long protracted disease terminating in premature death. To make these chances depend upon the judgment or conjecture of the medical officer, is to make him in fact an executioner, whose duty is to superintend slow torture, to watch its progress, and determine when it should be arrested to protect the health of the prisoner. It will be found no easy question to solve; how long may a man, with predisposition to consumption, be starved without developing the disease; yet, it seems probable, legislators will impose this question very frequently to medical officers of the navy. But it is still to be hoped, that the medical officers of the navy, should such an odious duty be imposed upon them, will have courage enough to force the legislators, in the slang phrase sometimes used in legislative halls, "to face the music," by forbearing to interfere, with the operation of the law in any case, until the very last moment. Let sailors and soldiers be starved into incurable disease, on a theory of humanity; but do not hold medical men responsible for the result. It would be humane to enact a law on the subject which cannot operate unequally through the benevolence or the erroneous judgment of any medical officer. There should be no escape of punishment on the ground that the health of the culprit will suffer by the infliction; immunity should not be provided for evil-doers of bad or damaged physical constitution.

The law which confers power on an individual to starve a man for thirty days arbitrarily, is inconsistent with humanity, with our institutions, and opens a door to greater cruelty and abuse than was ever inflicted under the barbarous law of the year 1800. There is no comparison between the severity of thirty days starvation and a dozen lashes well laid on; there is surely no difference in the degradation of the two modes of punishment; disgrace should inure to crime, not to the castigation. Who will contend that the infamy of murder is contingent upon the gibbet and the executioner? The headsman's axe never inflicted disgrace upon an innocent victim. It may be asked, why should the guilty escape punishment through a lackadaisical apprehension that it will disgrace or degrade them? Why should the restraining influence which a fear of disgrace or degradation, which the transcendentally benevolent tell us inures to punishment, be removed from those who might be, without such influence, prone to offend against the community? Must effectual modes of punishment be abandoned on a theory that it is essential, in view of humanity, to preserve the guilty and innocent equal in character and respectability? It is believed no civil court could be restrained from awarding sentence of the law on a burglar, on a plea that a man cannot be confined in a penitentiary at labor without injury to his reputation in the community.

The combat between the two negroes armed with "cats," which took place in presence of the assembled crew, was not generally approved: but it was, most probably, in the opinion of the commander, in conformity to the usage of the sea-service, and therefore, legal, although no other officer on board had ever witnessed precisely such an exhibition. I feel well assured, however, that the commander acted on a conviction that he was doing the best for the preservation of the discipline of the ship. But, it is probable the example was not beneficial; because the scene seemed to possess the same kind of interest for the crew, as may be observed in an audience at a bull-bait, or a prize-fight between boxers.

This might be cited among many instances, to show the evils which may arise from indefinite penal law. It is not necessary that any offence should be punishable according to the usage of the sea-service, which means, in fact, according to the habit or usage observed by the commander whose duty it is to adjudicate the case. If closely investigated, it would be probably ascertained, that there is no uniformity of view among commanders upon any one point, connected with this most indefinite of all laws, the usage or custom of the sea-service; the term should find no place in any statute devised for observance in the navy. It will be a fruitful source of evil, of injustice and complaint, as long as it is permitted to remain.

CHAPTER VII.

The rights of a ladder; A queer specimen of a fine officer; Blood of the dolphin; Duff; Crossing the equator; Splice the main brace; Being sick at sea; Mess-table sketches; "No gentleman;" What characterizes a gentleman; A booby; Las Roccas; Nativity of ship's company; Mother Carey's Chickens; Usage of the sea-service; What a fall may do for the faculty of memory; Speak a whale-ship.

April 13th. Latitude 4°39′ north; longitude 36°03′ west. The wind still favorable.

This morning a lieutenant reported to the first lieutenant that the carpenter did not get off from the steerage ladder when he was coming. The carpenter was immediately called and told that neither he nor any of the "forward officers." (under this term are included the boatswain, gunner, carpenter and sailmaker.) should hereafter use the steerage ladder. "I give you this, sir, as an order; you can obey it or not as you think best." Soon after, the sailmaker inquired whether the first lieutenant would object to an appeal to the captain from the forward officers; the answer was, "Certainly not; whenever I give any order which you think presses unfairly, you have a right to make a respectful appeal to the captain. I think it is a right of every officer. I order you to use the main hatch ladder, because it is most convenient to your apartments."

The appeal was made; the decision of the captain sustained the order of the first lieutenant.

No doubt the "forward officers" fancied that they might use the steerage ladder without interfering with the duties or discipline of the ship; and they probably imagined that being forbid to use the ladder was in some way disparaging to them. On the other hand, it might be contended that the steerage ladder was the only common route of the officers of the ward-room and steerage to their respective apartments, and that the forward officers could not use it without passing through the steerage, the apartment common to midshipmen and passed-midshipmen. The convenience of all was therefore increased by lessening the number of persons who habitually passed by a narrow thoroughfare. There could be no question that the main-hatch ladder was most convenient to the apartments of the forward officers; but it is, also, by custom, the common route of all the shipped men to and from the berth-deck, and these gentlemen were liable constantly to meet sailors on their way. It was this circumstance which caused the forward officers to prefer the steerage ladder, upon which they might occasionally encounter a commissioned officer, when one or the other must yield the passage.

It is probable the moral effect of this order was to render the lieutenant, whose report provoked it, temporarily at least, disagreeable in the eyes of the forward officers; and no doubt, they charged their exclusion from the steerage ladder to aristocratic notions of their superior officers.

This evening the merits of several officers were discussed. One of the gentlemen said that "Captain —— is as fine an officer as there is in the service, barring that he is always in debt, has a bad temper, and that he will get drunk." A certain lieutenant (now deceased) was mentioned: he borrowed some $500 from a surgeon, who, in the course of two or three years, several times asked for the liquidation of the debt. At last the lieutenant declared to the surgeon he would shoot him if he ever asked for the money again. To expect the payment of borrowed money from an officer possessed of $2.000 a year, besides his annual salary, does not seem unreasonable; yet, even here there was certainly a wide difference of opinion, whether honestly entertained, is a question I leave to the decision of casuists.

Friday, April 14th. Latitude 2°52′ north; longitude 33°35′ west: thermometer 80°F. At meridian a heavy fall of rain, and change of wind not in our favor. A number of flying-fishes were caught during the morning. It fell almost calm in the afternoon. Caught a dolphin about three feet in length; the stomach contained three flying-fishes, one of them partly digested. Found the blood corpuscules in this animal to be larger than those of the human subject; in other respects they presented the same characters under the microscope.

Saturday, April 15th. Latitude 2°11′ north; longitude 33°32′ west. Rain. Mess-cooks were busy preparing the dessert for Sunday's dinner—The materials are wheat-flour, raisins, water and

a little salt; good housewives need not be told that it must require no small skill in cookery to make them into a light, tender pudding. Yet, by dint of stirring, and perhaps by aid of standing twelve or fourteen hours in the kid in the shape of a stiff batter, before it is included in a bag for boiling, quite a popular dish is produced. This "duff" is eaten with molasses.

April 16th. Latitude 1°37′ north; longitude 33°1′ west.

April 17th. Latitude 0°15′ north; longitude 33°13′ west: thermometer 83°F. Breeze light; at six o'clock P. M. we found the ship was in the Southern hemisphere. I have now crossed the equator for the fifteenth time. On this occasion the custom of admitting Neptune and his tritons on board to shave and maltreat neophytes for the amusement of old sailors was departed from, and instead, "all hands" were called "to splice the main brace," that is, to drink an extra or unaccustomed allowance of grog.

For two or three days past I have been very unwell. The remark of a much esteemed messmate of a former cruise was brought to mind. He was seriously ill at a very good boarding-house in Philadelphia, and was carefully attended, but during convalescence, he remarked, "After all, there is no place like a ship to be sick in, because there is every thing at hand for any emergency!" He was a bachelor then; now he has wife and children, but whether he still maintains this opinion I do not know.

If there be a time when the inconvenience and depressing influence of ship-life are more strongly impressed upon the voyager than at any other, it is when disease lays hold of the body so far as to shake the mind with fearful conjectures as to the result. Selfishness may exaggerate the absence of the bodily comforts of home, and sigh for the light of day, an atmosphere uncontaminated by the odours of bilge water and tar; for clear transparent water cooled, if desired, with ice; for a dainty mess of gruel or *soupe maigre* of unsuspected cleanliness: but what is most missed is that solace which a sufferer can derive only from the sympathy of loved ones, a sympathy manifested by numerous little acts of kindness and attention, which are best appreciated by the sick when wanting. It is no small deed to put yourself beyond the reach of the household affections for any considerable period. Residence in a man-of-war for years, is something better than in a railroad car, or in a stage coach, but is not equal to a river steamboat for "creature comforts," which are there always within reach. A river steamboat surely affords not very appropriate accommodations for sick men; and in this respect a man-of-war is far better, but with every care and attention on board, better accommodation is almost always attainable on shore.

Without meaning to betray confidence, I may relate some of the personal history and opinions occasionally told at mess. It is not uncommon to discuss at table the merits of officers, particularly if they are remarkable in any particular. A lieutenant was named to day, who was praised by one as a martinet; while others characterised him as haughty, silly, tyrannical, tantalizing and "no sailor." "If you were to squeeze Captain ——'s little finger for five minutes, it would yield more seamanship than you could get out of Lieutenant ——'s whole body under a hydraulic press for a month." Another remarked, "He thinks the best use officers can make of sailors, is to flog them; he would flog a whole watch if every man was not on deck within five minutes after the bell struck eight."

A commander was named, and pronounced to be the first officer in the navy. No one present offered a word in objection; on the contrary, every one offered some reason, or alluded to some trait, to prove him to be an accomplished and efficient officer in any and in every sense of the word. "But," added one, "he is a religious man, and when he gets mad he suffers most awfully; because under such circumstances it is natural for him to swear, but he works religion against nature, and the contest almost strangles him, although religion always carries the day, seeing she has a powerful ally in the third article of the law of 1800, which, you know, makes swearing a court-martial offence."

It will be perceived, from the above samples, that the portraits of navy officers, drawn by mess-table artists, are to be received as sportive sketches or caricatures, rather than as deliberately designed pictures; yet they sometimes possess a truthfulness of outline, which makes them speaking likenesses of the originals, in spite of a little excess in coloring. Wanting as they do Daguerreotype exactness, these pictures are still accurate enough to show that sea air is very conservative of the moral imperfections of man; and to teach us that we should not be disappointed to find no more virtue, generosity, liberality or forbearance in the exercise of power, or less vice, prejudice, avarice or meanness than may be met in an equal number of men of other vocations. Men employed as officers in military service, are generally so conspicuous as to be readily observed; and hence their salient points, whether virtuous or vicious, are quickly seen by the community and noted, especially by mess-table artists who delight to render their representations somewhat spicy in order to tickle the prevailing taste of the times. There is a danger to be apprehended from this fashion of freely

discussing the characters of men; in the hands of a humorist an absent brother officer may afford infinite amusement without much injury to his reputation, but if skill in delineation be united to a malicious disposition, the minds of listeners may be very seriously prejudiced against a really meritorious man. Indeed, a fair reputation might be entirely destroyed by heedless misrepresentation, designed only to furnish present amusement. It would be well, perhaps, if every one could be taught never to say any thing about a brother officer, disparagingly, until ready to hold himself responsible for his statement. To say an officer is "no sailor," is equal to charging incompetency upon him; and it is a charge that it might not be easy to disprove. I remember to have heard it related of the naval times prior to 1812, that a sailing-master of one of our frigates, upon a certain occasion, cast himself on a camp-stool beside the ward-room table, and buried his face in his hands in an attitude of grief and vexation. He rolled his head about and sobbed aloud. A mess-mate asked the cause of his distress, and received in broken tones an explanation: "The Commodore, d—n his soul, has put an insult upon me that will carry me to my grave. If he had said I was 'no gentleman;' or that I got drunk; or cheated at cards; or lied, I might have got over it, I think; but Jack, my boy, it was worse than all these together, for he said to me, (an old, experienced sailing-master in the service as I am,) says he, 'Sir, you're no sailor!—and you may go below!' Oh! I shall never be able to show my face on the quarter-deck again,—d—n his soul."

It has been substantially asserted in more places than one, that there are many excellent, worthy gentlemen in the navy who are not distinguished seamen; and not a few highly accomplished seamen who cannot readily pass muster as gentlemen. Macaulay, (History of England,) speaking of the British navy, says, "There were gentlemen and there were seamen in the navy of Charles II. But the seamen were not gentlemen, and the gentlemen were not seamen" A very ancient Commodore has the credit of having said, "Make gentlemen of your officers, and the natural consequence will be, you will not have a sailor among them at the end of ten years."

If the gallant old commodore understood the term gentleman to designate a variety of the *genus homo*, characterised by remarkable precision in the fashion and fit of his garments, the prominence of white kid gloves, (even in the rain,) and a luxuriance of hair on the lip and cheeks, redolent of perfumes, and noted for repugnance to pay landlords, tailors and laundry maids their just claims, while ever ready to "venture a V on a turn of a card" in the presence of company, he was correct in the notion that gentlemen could not be sailors. But in fact, a man may be "every inch a sailor," and measure no less as a gentleman, if I am not mistaken in the meaning of the term. By a gentleman I do not mean a dandy; nor an animal who constantly refrains from using his hands under an erroneous impression that it is degrading to employ them, except for a very few purposes, such as manœuvering a tooth-pick on the front steps of a fashionable hotel, or an opera-glass at a dramatic entertainment. A man of education, good breeding and civil manners, is said to be a gentleman, but these qualities alone are not enough to constitute a gentleman. A man of courage, truthfulness, integrity, frankness and intelligence, who is civil in his deportment, who respects all men without regard to their vocation, and who always acts on the Christian principle of doing to others as he would others should do unto him under all circumstances, is worthy of the title of gentleman. Surely such qualities are not incompatible with a perfect knowledge of seamanship, or of any other professional knowledge, whether scientific or mechanical. But there are some who regard prodigal expenditure of money as the criterion. A hostler pronounced a man to be "a first rate gentleman," because he gave him a half dollar for holding his horse while he took a drink at the bar of a road-side inn. Costume of a particular fashion, in the estimation of some few hastily thinking people, is essential to respectability and social position. But fine clothes, fine manners, and fine words may disguise a man, who, when placed beyond restraint of law or superiors, would avail himself of opportunity to overreach a child, to deliberately wrong a woman, to betray a trust or a confidence for profit; who would play the braggart, be overbearing, tantalizing, exacting or tyrannical towards inferiors, while he is at the same time towards superiors a very polite, attentive, cringing sycophant and parasite.

Personal selfishness, carried to any remarkable degree, is inconsistent with the qualities which characterize the high-toned gentleman, because selfishness cannot be indulged without invading the rights of others. Among the first principles of gentility is to recognise the claims of all, and yield to them due respect; to demand only what is clearly right, and to submit to nothing which is clearly wrong. It unfortunately happens that men possessed of self-esteem or vanity in a high degree are prone to over-appreciate their own qualifications while they depreciate those of others; and thus blinded by conceit, they do not perceive the merits of men among whom they live, and thus misled they may perhaps innocently, do them wrong. Men

thus constituted are apt to indulge in extreme views, and to regard the most valuable labors of their fellows somewhat contemptuously. They find it difficult to modify their egotism, or come to a compromise upon any subject; and if placed in power, they are governed in their deportment chiefly by their desire and will, without regard to the opinions, feelings or rights of their subordinates. Their own views of peculiar advantage or interest are alone consulted. Yet the same men are honest, honorable and respectable in all their relations of life, except only when their own interests are in any way involved in their actions. Such gentlemen do not understand the injunction, the command of the Greek philosopher, "know thyself." and never subject themselves to the wholesome exercise of self-examination; an exercise which may be freely indulged without danger to the moral health of the most worthy members of society.

April 19th. Latitude 3°46′ south; longitude 34°29′ west: temperature 84°F. The wind is against us. There are dangerous rocks in our route, lying between the island of Ferdinando-de-Norhona and the coast of Brazil. The danger of these rocks, called Las Roccas, is augmented by the fact that nautical authorities are not agreed as to their exact position, a fact which illustrates the importance of accurate surveying. Our English chart places the Roccas in 33°33′ west longtitude; Horseburgh, in 33°06′; Owen, in 33°7′; and Purdy in 33°07′, a difference of 27 miles between the English authorities. According to Bowditch, the American authority, the Roccas are in 33°10′ west.

April 20th. Latitude 3°03′ south; longitude 33°44′ west: temperature 83°F. Finding it impossible to clear Cape St. Roque on the course the ship was steering, the vessel was tacked last evening, and we are now running to the eastward.

April 21st. Latitude 3°20′ south; longitude 33°12′ west: temperature 83°F. We have advanced very little in the past twenty-four hours. At sunset last night a booby, (*Sula fusca,*) alighted on deck, which broke the monotony for a short time. The bird is about two feet five inches in length. It has a strong, conical, roundish, sharp bill about four inches long, and a keen eye. With the exception of the belly, which is white, the rest of the plumage is of greenish, or rather grayish brown. Owing to the length of its wings, the bird could not set them in motion on the deck; its efforts to fly excited the mirth of the spectators. After being a prisoner about two hours, it was set at liberty.

In the course of this afternoon we passed a vessel, about ten miles distant, supposed to be bound to the United States.

April 22nd. Latitude 3°45′ south; longitude 33°27′ west: temperature 86°F. To-day the decks were thoroughly "holy-stoned," that is, scrubbed. At half past eleven o'clock, A. M., the look-out on the fore-topsail yard shouted, "breakers ahead." We presumed we were near the Roccas by our reckoning, which makes the position assigned to this reef on the English chart correct.

At 1 o'clock, P. M., a line of sand and foam, glittering like fretted silver in the sunshine, was visible from deck, it extended several miles, and was estimated to be distant from the ship about five miles. This reef of coral rises scarcely above the surface, and would be fatal to any ship that struck upon it at night, especially if the wind were fresh. There seems not enough dry land, even now when it is almost calm, for fifty men to stand upon. A current sweeps past to the westward, at the rate of two miles an hour, which would drift a vessel situated to the eastward of them upon the Roccas, in spite of every precaution, because there is no bottom available for an anchor.

Numerous sea birds were sailing above the breakers, and individuals were occasionally seen to dive, no doubt in pursuit of fishes, but we were too far distant to observe their success. Many sharks were seen, and about three o'clock, one was caught, which was only about five feet long. As usual, it was speedily despatched, and its spine was dissected out of the body to be converted into a walking-cane.

Several on board were anxious to land, some to gather shells, and others, because they imagined no person had ever been on shore there willingly, and for this reason, they would have accomplished what others had not done.

April 23d.—Easter Sunday.—Latitude 4° 52′ south; longitude 33° 12′ west; temperature 84° F. A vessel passed at a distance, presumed to be the British mail-packet from Pernambuco.

April 24th.—It rained heavily from eleven till one o'clock. Since the rain, it has been calm and sultry. Our dead-reckoning places the ship in latitude 6° 22′ south; longitude 33° 22′ west.

The company on board this ship numbers in all 217 souls, of which number, 73 are not citizens of the United States. The places of their birth are as follows:

At sea,	1	Canada,	2
Russia,	1	Scotland,	6
Prussia,	1	Ireland,	36
Nova Scotia,	1	England,	23
France,	1	U. S., including 12 negroes,	144
Malta,	1		

They are classed as follows: Passengers 2; Commission and Warrant Officers 24; Petty Officers 37; Seamen 37; Ordinary Seamen 44;

Landsmen 30; Boys 9; Apprenticed Boys 8; and Mariners 26; making an aggregate of 217.

The man born at sea is of Irish parents. He at first declared, in the strongest Hibernian brogue, that he was born in New York, but finding his statement doubted, he added, in a somewhat ingenuous manner, "The *rale* truth is, I *wuz* born in New York, but it happened the day before my mother arrived."

April 25th. Latitude 6° 53′ south; longitude 33° 01′ west; temperature 48° F. It is very sultry this morning. Moths are found on board; it is feared woolen clothing will suffer. To-day the crew was exercised by divisions—a sort of company drill—and two rounds of shot and shells were fired.

This morning a Mother Cary's chicken was caught.

Ornithologists describe this bird under the generic names of *Thalassidroma* and *Procellaria*.

"This ominous harbinger of the deep is seen nearly throughout the whole expanse of the Atlantic, from Newfoundland to the tropical parts of America, whence it wanders even to Africa and the coasts of Spain! From the ignorance and superstition of mariners, an unfavorable prejudice has long been entertained against these adventurous and harmless wanderers, and as sinister messengers of the storm, in which they are often involved with the vessel they follow, they have been very unjustly stigmatized by the name of Stormy Petrels, Devil's Birds and Mother Carey's Chickens. At nearly all seasons of the year these Swallow-Petrels, in small flocks, are seen wandering almost alone, over the wide waste of the ocean.

"On the edge of soundings, as the vessel loses sight of the distant headland, and launches into the depths of the unbounded and fearful abyss of waters, flocks of these dark, swift flying and ominous birds begin to shoot around the vessel, and finally take their station in her foaming wake. In this situation, as humble dependents, they follow for their pittance of fare, constantly and keenly watching the agitated surge for floating mollusca, and are extremely gratified with any kind of fat animal matter thrown overboard, which they invariably dicover, however small the morsel, or mountainous and foaming the raging wave on which it may happen to float. On making such discovery, they suddenly stop in their airy and swallow-like flight, and whirl instantly down to the water. Sometimes nine or ten thus crowd together like a flock of chickens scrambling for the same morsel, at the same time pattering on the water with their feet, as if walking on the surface, they balance themselves with gently fluttering and outspread wings, and often dip down their heads to collect the sinking object in pursuit. On other occasions, as if seeking relief from their almost perpetual exercise of flight, they jerk and hop widely over the water, rebounding as their feet touch the surface, with great agility and alertness.

"There is something cheerful and amusing in the sight of these little voyaging flocks, steadily following after the vessel, so light and unconcerned, across the dreary ocean. During a gale, it is truly interesting to witness their intrepidity and address. Unappalled by the storm that strikes terror into the breast of the mariner, they are seen coursing wildly and rapidly over the waves, descending their sides, then mounting the breaking surge which threatens to burst over their heads, sweeping through the hollow waves as in a sheltered valley, and again mounting with the rising billow, it trips and jerks sportively and securely on the surface of the roughest sea, defying the horrors of the storm, and like some magic being, seems to take delight in braving overwhelming dangers. At other times, we see these ærial mariners playfully coursing from side to side in the wake of the ship, making excursions far and wide on every side, now in advance, then far behind, returning again to the vessel, as if she were stationary, though moving at the most rapid rate. A little after dark, they generally cease their arduous course, and take their interrupted rest upon the water, arriving in the wake of the vessel they had left, as I have observed, by about nine or ten o'clock of the following morning. In this way, we were followed by the same flock of birds to the soundings of the Azores, and until we came in sight of the isle of Flores.

"According to Buffon, the Petrel acquires its name from the Apostle Peter, who is also said to have walked upon the water. At times, we hear from these otherwise silent birds by day, a low *weet, weet*, and in their craving anxiety, apparently to obtain something from us, they utter a low twittering *'pe-ŭp*, or chirp. In the night, when disturbed by the passage of the vessel, they rise in a low, vague and hurried flight from the water, and utter a singular guttural chattering, like *kŭk kuk'k'k'k'k*, or something similar, ending usually in a sort of low twitter, like that of a swallow.

"These Petrels are said to breed in great numbers on the rocky shores of the Bahama and the Bermuda islands, and along some parts of the coast of East Florida, and Cuba. Mr. Audubon informs me that they also breed in large flocks on the mud and sand islands of Cape Sable, in Nova Scotia, burrowing downwards from the surface to the depth of a foot or more. They also commonly employ the holes and cavities of rocks near the sea for this purpose. The eggs, according

to Mr. Audubon, are three, white and translucent. After the period of incubation, they return to feed their young only during the night, with the oily food which they raise from their stomachs. At these times, they are heard through the most part of the night, making a continued cluttering sound like frogs. In June and July, or about the time that they breed, they are still seen out at sea for scores of leagues from the land, the swiftness of their flight allowing them daily to make these vast excursions in quest of their ordinary prey; and hence, besides their suspicious appearance in braving storms, as if aided by the dark Ruler of the Air, they breed, according to the vulgar opinion of sailors, like no other honest bird, for taking no time for the purpose on land, they merely hatch their egg under their wings, as they sit on the water!

"The food of this species, according to Wilson, appears to consist, as he says, of the gelatinous spora of the gulf-weed, (*Fucus natans*,) as well as small fishes, barnacles, and probably many small mollusca. Their flesh is rank, oily, and unpleasant to the taste. Their food is even converted into oil by the digestive process, and they abound with it to such a degree, that, according to Brunnich, the inhabitants of the Fero Isles make their carcasses to serve the purpose of a candle, by drawing a wick through the mouth and rump, which being lighted, the flame is for a considerable time supported by the fat and oil of the body."

The fidelity of the above description by Mr. Thomas Nuttall* will be at once recognized by all who have had experience at sea. The facts stated, I have witnessed again and again at different times; there is nothing related for truth which cannot be established by any number of competent witnesses, which is more than may be safely asserted of many statements relative to human history, or to human institutions. The usages of the naval service of the United States, for example, are not as readily ascertained and stated as the habits of the remarkable petrel, known under the name of Mother Carey's chicken.

At dinner, to-day, it was asserted by one of the gentlemen, that it is a duty of the flag-lieutenant to keep watch at sea on board a Commodore's or flag-ship. The correctness of this position, was at once denied, and the usage of the sea service was appealed to for a decision. Opposite sides of the question were advocated; one party declared they had never known a flag-lieutenant to keep watch at sea, while the other stoutly maintained the reverse. One gentleman was very confident in his knowledge of the customs of the service, and based his confidence on the circumstance that he had served on board no less than twenty two different vessels in the navy. After patiently hearing the testimony on both sides, I formed an opinion that there was not sufficient evidence to decide what is the custom of the naval service is on this point, though it was enough to show that the flag-lieutenant sometimes at least, was not expected to keep watch at sea. It can scarcely be doubted that all questions on the duties of officers, might be placed beyond a necessity of reference to the usage of the sea-service by devising rules or statutes on the subject.

A striking instance of the difficulty of determining what is or is not usage in the naval service, occurred within less than three years, and has been recently alluded to in a congressional debate. A sailor, while on shore in a port of the Mediterranean, assaulted a lieutenant who was in command of the ship to which the sailor belonged. By order of the lieutenant-commander, the sailor was seized, carried on board ship, put in irons, and confined until brought to trial before a court-martial convened in New York. He was kept a prisoner more than three months, and it was stated before the court, that he had been gagged and "bucked." It is believed these facts were stated with a view to induce the court to award a mild sentence, on the ground that the prisoner had been already punished, in part at least. Be this as it may, it appears that of the twelve Captains, who constituted the court, not one understood the word "bucked," or the kind of infliction it implied. The lieutenant-commander knew what "bucking," was, and ordered the man to be punished in this way; he was the incensed party, the accuser as well as the judge, and directed the execution of his own sentence. But it does not appear that "bucking" was considered contrary to the "custom in like cases at sea," or that the lieutenant-commander had, in the opinion of the court, in any way transcended his legal authority, notwithstanding, no member of the court could explain the meaning of the term. The prisoner was setenced to be dismissed from the navy with a "bad conduct" discharge, or similar infliction, which must have been considered by the man a small addition to being gagged and bucked, and kept in irons for three months.

This outline was given to me by a member of the court, and is related from memory. The court sat sometime in the beginning of the year 1850, and the record of its proceedings, which is no doubt on file in the Navy Department, can be referred to, if necessary, to correct any error of the above story, which is given here exclusively

* A Manual of the Omithology of the United States and Canada. By Thomas Nuttall, A. M F. L. S. The Water Birds. Boston, 1834.

as an illustration of the value of the "usage of the naval service," as a rule of justice and equity.

The details of the case have not been published; but even in ignorance of the testimony, a conjecture may be hazarded that the offence charged was striking or offering to strike his superior officer, and for this reason, was to be adjudicated under the 13th, 14th and 15th articles of the law of 1800, which have been already quoted. Then, if "bucking" be proved to be a punishment in accordance with the usage of the sea-service, it was nevertheless, illegal in this case, because the 32d article provides that only the "crimes which are not specified in the foregoing articles, shall be punished according to the laws and customs in such cases [namely, those which are not specified] at sea." This man's crime was specified and provided for in the law; and therefore, any mode of punishment not stated in the statute, whether by gagging, bucking, or crucifying, even if those were or are customary, is illegal. Whether a civil court could award damages, as for mal treatment, in such a case, is a question; but whatever the law may be, it does not seem in accordance with justice or equity, that a sailor, illegally punished by a superior officer, (whether he be a military officer of the naval service, or a civil officer of the merchant service,) should have no remedy.

April 26th.—Latitude 8° 59′ south; longitude 33° 36′ west; temperature 84° F. Several rain squalls to-day. To-day, a sailor was wounded accidentally by a boarding-pike, during exercise at "general quarters."

April 27th.—Latitude 11° 38′ south; longitude 33° 31′ west; temperature 82° F. A run of 180 miles in the past twenty-four hours, has made every one hopeful; all are anticipating the time of arrival at Rio de Janeiro.

The comparative value of steamers and sailing ships for purposes of war, was a subject of discussion to-day. The line-officers on board, seemed to be equally divided in opinion on this point: one gentleman, for whose judgment in nautical affairs I entertain high respect, exclaimed—"Give me a frigate with an eight knot breeze, and I will whip any steamer that ever floated."

At sunset every day since sailing, it has been the custom to reef topsails, without reference to the state of the weather. This evening, one of the men, hurrying aloft, fell a distance of about fifteen feet to the deck. He had no external signs of considerable injury, but it was remarkable, that he could not tell the number of his hammock, nor the number of his mess, nor the name of any one of his messmates, and yet he was entirely coherent on all other points.

April 29th.—Latitude 18° 15′ south; longitude 35° 45′ west. To-day a great event in our cruise has happened. The first despatches from the ship since losing sight of the United States, were put on board of a whaling barque, bound direct to New London, Ct. She has been five months without seeing land; has been absent two and a half years, and is now returning home with a full cargo of oil. It was pleasant to observe the pleasurable excitement produced by meeting this whaler, all sea-worn as she appeared. Her sails were thin and white from long exposure to the sun; but her bunting streamed out brightly, and her hull was well sunk in the sea, indicating that she was full laden. A whale's jaw-bones decorated the stern; her whale-boats rested bottom upwards between the masts, and at her main-mast head she wore a black ball, more than a foot in diameter, fixed on a staff, a signal of triumph which told other whalers that her cargo was complete. When her commander answered our hail, "Bound to New London," and signified that he would receive a letter-bag on board, every body whose duty permitted him to leave the deck, rushed below to seal up his packet. The boat which bore our letter-bag was followed by all eyes, and every body wished fresh and fair breezes to the whaler, whether because she had been already so long at sea, or because we fancied our letters were anxiously waited for, it is not necessary to explain.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cape Frio; Vicinity of Rio de Janeiro; Putting the best foot foremost; Green leaves; Life at sea; A reason for going to sea; Military strength of the entrance of Rio de Janeiro; Anecdote of Commodore Jacob Jones; Send a boat to the Admiral; Reasons for creating the grade of Admiral; Wash-day.

Just before break of day, on the 2nd of May, 1848, the land was descried. A lofty bluff arose from the sea; a fleece of white clouds enveloped the summit, completely obscuring the light-house upon it, while a line of foam was seen lashing its base. The light house, the guide and mark of the sea-tossed mariner, not being visible, led us to doubt for a time, that we had made what sailors call "a good land fall;" but the lapse of a few minutes brought day-light, and with it came the pleasing assurance, we were opposite to Cape Frio, the site of one of the first European settlement in Brazil. As the sun rose, we pursued our course along the mountainous shore towards our port. The wind freshened somewhat as the day advanced. The prospects around and before us were animating; by four o'clock, P. M., the

land in the neighborhood of the city of St. Sebastian became defined.

How joyously the heart throbs on approaching land after fifty days spent at sea for the firs time; particularly if the heart be yet untouched by worldy care, and the land be beneath the ra diance of a tropic sun. From the moment the indistinct looming up of the shore is descried Hope flings her mantle over the mind, and Mem ory sleeps; the eye is earnestly directed forward towards the opening prospect, clothed in the bright colors of historical recollection, or in the brighter hues of a creative fancy. The feeling in regard to distant lands and people, which is commonly entertained from childhood up to adult age, is about to be gratified; the senses are aroused, and the merest trifle, which elsewhere would pass unheeded, assumes importance: we pity the apathy of the old voyagers and seamen, who find little to interest them, beyond the manœuvring of the ship or veering of the wind. But the charm of novelty, delightful as it, passes away, and in a few years we may learn to meet strange lands without emotion; yet the foreign land be held first, will long remain a bright spot in memory.

Between Cape Frio and the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, the coast tends nearly east and west; and we enter the beautiful bay steering towards the north. About ten miles from its entrance, are several small islands: those seen first are to the left or westward, and the most conspicuous of these are Round Island, (Ilha Redonda,) and Smooth Island, (Ilha Raza.) On the latter is an excellent light-house, with a revolving light, bright and red, which cannot be easily mistaken. Three small islands subsequently appear, named Comprida, Palmas and Cagada; and on the right, or eastward, the Ilha do Pai, (Father Island,) and Ilha de Mai, (Mother Island,) are seen not far from the land. But these islands are the least attractive part of the scene: for the elevated peaks of Tejūco. Gàvia and Corcovado, and the land intervening between them, are so arranged as to present the profile of a supine man, of course of the most gigantic dimensions. The feet of this profile, which is several miles in length, are represented by the Pão de Assucar, or Sugar Loaf, a conical, muller shaped piece of darkened granite, said to be 900 feet from the base to its apex. The nose is prodigious, and is familiarly known as "Lord Hood's Nose." whether in compliment or derision of that fea ture of his lordship's face, neither history nor tra dition informs us. "If the old fellow were once to give a snort," quietly remarked a sailor to his companion, as the two were contemplating the land, "he would blow us clean out of water!"

The Sugar Loaf is on the west side of the entrance of the bay; but on the right, or eastern side, is the Ponta de Pão Torta, or False Sugar Loaf, which may be distinguished by its smaller size and different inclination or dip of its strata. At a distance of ten miles, the whole surface of the land is bleak and barren in its aspect: here and there, leaping through dark ravines, may be seen a waterfall, glittering like silver under the rays of the sun.

During the day, the crew was employed in putting the ship in a tidy, holy-day dress, that she might appear to strangers "with her best foot foremost," that is, in truth, lead them to believe the vessel is superior in all respects to the reality, which, in the present instance, is perhaps unnecessary. Acting out this maxim, "put the best foot foremost," occasionally leads to deception. But—— we were all gay, and pointing out the prominent points in the landscape, and endeavoring "to make out," that is, distinguish the nation or rig of the several vessels, which, like our own, were steering for the port. Every mind seemed excited, either by hope or curiosity; every new point as it opened upon us, gave pleasure for the time, and all were cheerful. That placid condition of the spirit commonly induced by the long continued monotony of sea-life, was now broken; a sort of moral exhilaration had succeeded it.

Just before sunset, we were so near as to descry the shipping in the harbor, and some of the prominent buildings of the city. Our glasses assured us, that the U. S. frigate Brandywine, wearing the broad pennant of the Commodore of the Brazil station, and the U. S. steamer Alleghany, were in port: we attempted, by the usual signals, to inform them that the Plymouth was arriving, but the day was too far spent; they could not distinguish our colors; the wind failed, and an adverse tide met us.

> "The glare of noon is past; a darker hue
> The ethereal sky assumes. The source of light
> Begins to wane, and verging into night,
> Majestically bids the world adieu!
> Oh! even in thy decline thou art glorious still.
> The landscape fades, but still the raptured eye
> Rests on thy beauteous robe of every dye,
> As slow thou sett'st behind the western hill.
> Peace to the wretch whose lips thy beams inspire
> To utter vows unholy—he who lifts
> To thee the adoring eye for all his gifts,
> And heaps thine altars with unhallow'd fire—
> Yet, could I worship any God but one,
> Methinks my God should be you setting sun."

The ship was anchored about a mile from Fort Santa Cruz; the twilight was spent in gazing on the beautiful tints left upon the clouds by the setting sun. In the lap of the mountain, rising in the rear of the fort, were a few solitary palm trees, which were objects of admiration, especially for young gentlemen from the north. At night, the

lighthouse on Ilha Raza, the illumination of the shore in the harbor, by the long line of lights in the city, and the sky magnificently brilliant in moon and stars, attracted attention; although in view of these signs, that we had passed from the solitude of the ocean, to social relations with the world, the influence of the calm night hushed all into silent contemplation. Thought was busy: but the stillness was broken only by an occasional, low-toned exclamation of admiration.

The impressions made on a young mind by the first sight of a foreign land, and that land in the tropic regions of the earth, cannot be described; they endure for years, and memory always calls them back with pleasure. Let the young then, drink in such impressions, and be filled with them, for it comes not to the travelled, or to those whose minds have been faded by the cares and pursuits of advancing life. The writer first gazed on this region of the globe more than twenty years ago; and now, for the seventh time, he reviews the scene; he finds those early impressions still fresh: familiarity, which dulls the perception to beauties as well as to defects, has not impaired this picture in any of its details.

The morning brought a calm and glassy sea, reflecting the rays of a scorching sun. A boat had been sent on shore to the Praia de Foro for sand to scour the decks; the men found it convenient to bring off some oranges, found growing in the vicinity. The sight of the fruit, and the green leaves and twigs of the orange trees, seemed to give pleasure to all on board. Do you not perceive in this the unpleasantness of sea-life! How small is the circumstance, a few green leaves and twigs; yet, it is enough to produce pleasure, because it contrasts so strongly with whatever meets the eye on board. The sight of a handful of green leaves, when trees are daily before us, produces no impression; but, let nothing of nature except skies and ocean be presented to the eye for two long months, and then a fresh orange and a large handful of green leaves excite more admiration than a conservatory of flowers which one visits every day. The sky and ocean, in tempest or in calm, are too grand to engage the sympathies, the affections of ordinary men, and call forth that tender admiration which expands over the smaller objects in nature. Who would feel happy in monotonous companionship with a star, be it ever so bright! There must be some approach to equality between man and the objects of his regard, if they are to produce him pleasure or joy; for his self love must be fed with a notion that his comprehension of these objects, if inanimate, is creditable to him, but what man is vain enough to fancy he can understand and associate with a star, and receive and reciprocate affection.

Many are driven to sea by the *res angusti domi;* an indefinite love of adventure leads many to embark who are ignorant of the truth, of the reality of living at sea. There is no one act which is habitual, for man's comfort, health or pleasure, which cannot be more effectualy, more successfully performed on shore than on a ship. Yet, poets, under the insane nisus peculiar to their brains, or spiritually induced for the time, rave in such manner as to lead the ignorant to suppose that those afloat are really occupying positions in the world that all brave men should desire. But let the truth be told; yet, not for the exclusive purpose "to shame" any one; and all reasonable men who have affections for home, will tell you that at sea their repose is necessarily on a harder and narrower bed, in constant motion, and in a limited supply of air; food is coarser, imperfectly cooked, defective in quality, sometimes deficient in quantity, and the external relations, sea and sky, which change their aspect temporarily only, are monotonous. A fellow-passenger from the West, declared he had "lived among the Indians, camped out in the woods, and believed he had suffered hardships, and experienced as great discomforts in living as any man under any circumstances, but this life at sea, is worse than anything on the shore I can conceive of. There is not a single instant of repose, or a source of comfort or consolation, except in the hope and prospect of one day getting on shore." The dulness of sea life is proverbial. Genius prompts all manner of devices to create interest; floating chips, a passing dolphin, or a fish, the spout of a whale at a distance, or the squeak of a pig, will rouse a whole ship's company. Still, the poet sings:

"How blest the life the sailor leads,
From clime to clime still ranging;
For to the storm the calm succeeds,
The scene delights by changing!"
Then, laugh at the gale,
With a full flowing sail;
When landsmen look pale never heed 'em,
But toss off a glass,
To some favorite lass!
To America, Commerce and Freedom."

There is a wild sort of wanderer on board, who has read a good deal of poetry and fiction, with little profit; he has earned for himself among the officers, the soubriquet of Shakspeare. He is a captain of the mizentop. He solicited the place of coxswain to one of the cutters, on the ground that one of the chief objects he had in view in going to sea, was to visit foreign countries, and make notes on the manners and customs of the people, for future use. He urged that if he was coxswain of a boat, frequently visiting the shore

while in port, he would have a much nearer view of the people, and he would obtain much better and more correct notions in regard to them. How intense must be the desire to see the world, when it induces a man to take the station of an ordinary seaman in a man-of-war; and to take the office of steering a boat between the ship and the shore, in the hope to get a little nearer to the object of his curiosity. How many of our ships' companies are doomed, like the marine, to "see the world only out of the main deck ports."

But it is well there are those always in the world who love to deceive, to cajole themselves into the notion that there is indescribable pleasure in privation, in hard beds, scanty and irregular sleep, defective, deficient, or badly prepared food, and continued exposure to the risk of being drowned; that grog and tobacco are bodily luxuries land lubbers know nothing about. Restraint of mind and body is a part of the treatment at sea, especially in ships of war; but still, "lob-scouse," pork and beans, hard salted beef, with a short allowance of fresh water, stand preëminent in the eyes of some respectable men. It is well, I repeat, that the indefinite love of adventure which belongs to some of us, is not quenched by the inconveniences which sea-life brings to all classes of sea-faring people, that gave to the world Columbus, Pinzon, Cabral, Vasco de Gama, Magellan, and hundreds of others, who have sought fame upon the trackless waste of waters. To this passion Spain and Portugal, and England and Holland, are in a measure indebted for their greatness. Therefore, let us cherish a love of the sea amongst our people, and at the same time, endeavor to ameliorate the condition of "those who go down to the sea in ships." As a first step to this end, let the habitual use of intoxicating drinks be abolished in our men-of-war, from the cabin to the forecastle, and thus follow an example set to all employed in merchant ships. Grog in its various forms, is a fruitful source of injustice, crime and misery; almost all the punishments inflicted on board of men of war, can be traced directly or indirectly to this article, being too freely used, either by men or officers, or by both.

The entrance of the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, is admirably defended by the strong fortress of Santa Cruz on one side, and the fortress of San João and smaller forts around the base of the Sugar Loaf, on the other. A brave mind directing a sufficient number of skilful gunners in these forts, might render this passage very perilous, if not impossible, to a hostile ship, which must necessarily pass within a half mile of more than a hundred guns, placed beyond the reach of her shot; a ship's guns could scarcely be sufficiently elevated to be very destructive to her assailants stationed, as they must be here, many feet above the level of the sea. Should a vessel pass Santa Cruz, she would meet resistance within the bay from the forteleza do Pico, forteleza de Boa Viagem, forteleza Gravata, three well placed forts on the eastern-shore; and the forteleza de Lage and forteleza de Villegaignon, which occupy central positions in the harbor, and beyond them, nearer to the city, is the fortress on the Ilha das Cobras. In the possession of courageous garrisons, a force afloat would find it difficult to conquer the forts of Rio de Janeiro: in a word, the city of St. Sebastian is a strong military position, and is physically well prepared for defence, *provided the forts be in good condition.*

But why should I tell you, or any American, that the harbor of Rio de Janeiro is capable of great military endurance? It is to be presumed we shall never have occasion to assail this port; but stories have been told about threatening to destroy this city with a single frigate; and you might believe there was foundation for such idle assertion, if you did not know that more than a hundred guns could be simultaneously opposed to any such quixotic enterprize. Rio de Janeiro is not like those ports in Mexico, which "might be taken by a revolving pistol mounted on a skiff, if her commander were cool," if I may borrow the words of an esteemed messmate.

In this connection, I draw upon an old note book, and record here, an anecdote of the late brave, just, intelligent, and good Commodore Jacob Jones: In November, 1826, the Brandywine, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Jones, stopped at Rio de Janeiro on her way to the Pacific Ocean. At the time, war existed between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, and to keep the enemy in ignorance that a fleet was preparing in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, to attack a Buenos Ayean Squadron, under command of Commodore Brown, said to be cruising off the port, the Emperor of Brazil, Don Pedro I, had laid an embargo on all vessels, to continue until the 23d day of November, 1826. On the morning of the 15th, at daylight, the Brandywine was unmoored, and towed by the boats of the American and foreign men-of war in the harbor, from the usual anchorage to the vicinity of fort Santa Cruz, in order to be certain of clearing the port with the usually very light land breeze, early the next day. Just before the ship anchored again, a Brazilian officer came on board, bearing several papers in his hands; he announced in a very excited tone and manner, that the guns of Santa Cruz would be opened upon the ship, if she persisted in her attempt to leave the harbor. The reply was such as might have been anticipated by all who knew Jacob Jones. He turned to the first-

lieutenant, and said, in the presence of the Brazilian officer, in a perfectly quiet but decided tone, "Clear the ship for action sir, and double shot the guns." He then said to the Brazilian, "Tell your master, sir, that by the order of my Government, I am bound to the Pacific Ocean, and I shall proceed to sea to-morrow, unless prevented by a superior force." To obviate error, a letter of this tenor, addressed to the Emperor, was immediately prepared, and placed in the hands of the officer, who saw that the ship was in readiness for immediate action before he left her.

It was not supposed at that time, that the frigate Brandywine could seriously injure the fort, but the Commodore designed, in the event of being fired at, to return a broadside or two, and then strike his colors, if he could not get beyond the reach of the guns of fort Santa Cruz without damage. In the course of the afternoon, he visited our Charge d'Affaires (Mr. Raguet,) from whom he received a reply from the Emperor, that the embargo was not intended to be applied to vessels of the American squadron, and that the frigate Brandywine was free to depart at any time; but the Emperor requested that Commodore Jones would do him the favor to remain in port twenty-four hours. The Commodore rejoined, that if his Majesty *requested*, he would remain three days.

It is not to warn our Commodores of their capacity to resist attacks, that I mention the forts and guns of Brazil; but because this port is a depôt of commerce, and the Brazilians are consumers of American products. In the year 1844–'5, they purchased from us $1.0-3,318 worth of flour, and $830.926 worth of our manufactured cotton, which, with some other items, increased the aggregate to $2,837,950, nearly three millions of dollars. This sum of money, in cash or in goods, the product of Brazil, was distributed amongst many classes of our fellow-citizens: farmers, millers, merchants, clerks, porters, coopers, carpenters, shipwrights and sailors, all had an interest in the sales of American property in Brazil, and it is only polite to presume they are a little curious to hear something about their customers.

The morning drum-beat saluted the display of our flag at the peak. Signals were made, and answered; the Brandywine communicated an order—"Send a boat to the Admiral!" Yes, that is literally the order; I am not mistaken—"Send a boat to the Admiral!"

When the code of signals was devised, and from that time till the present, the Navy has desired and expected to see established the grade of Admiral; it is recorded in the signal books, printed twenty or more years ago, but up to this day, the Navy has still this object to hope for. The signal officers not unfrequently find a sneer, or a smile to accompany their report that "the *Commodore* signalizes,—send a boat to the Admiral!" This assumption of the title of Admiral, by the signal book or its authors, was very much on the principles of diplomacy adopted by the waiter of a restaurant, who, on serving a guest with eggs, helped himself to a pinch of salt from the table, "thinking," as he said, when asked why he had taken it, "that somebody might give him an egg, and if so, then he would want salt for it." Why should the egg be wanting for the salt? Why does the government hesitate to create the office of Admiral in the Navy of the United States?

The office of Admiral has not been created for the Navy of the United States, because there is a popular prejudice against the name, the title: ignorant people seem to think it would be "aping" England to call any officer in the American Navy, Admiral. They seem to think only of the name, and regard it simply as an honorary distinction, which is contrary to the spirit of our institutions. A member of Congress once said in private conversation, "I am willing to vote for the office, but first get us some other name for it than Admiral: call them Navy Governors!" "Sea-Governors!" replied the interlocutor, "will not be appropriate. You may devise a better designation, one which will not be offensive to democratic ears of either party. The general term "Sea-officers" is used in the Navy, and "Sea-Captain" is recognized in the merchant marine: now extend the application, and you may have Admirals, under the name of "Sea-Generals," Vice-Admirals, as "Sea-Major-General." Rear Admirals, as Sea-Brigadier Generals; but how Post Captains would fancy, to be styled, "Sea-Colonels" and "Sea-Lieutenant-Colonels," and Commanders to be "Sea-Majors," is questionable, although it is possible the lieutenants would not object to be called "Sea-Captains," nor the passed midshipmen, "Sea-lieutenants." This nomenclature would not be entirely new; both the Spaniards and Portugues designated the officer who discharged the duties of Admiral, as the Sea-General—General do Mar—General de la Mar. The people do not understand the question; the representatives of the people are unable to explain to their constituents that an Admiral in the Navy is equivalent to a General in an Army; the word Admiral means a General who commands military seamen; and to descend to detail, he might add, a sloop-of-war is equal to a batallion, a frigate equal to a regiment, and a ship-of-the-line, to a brigade. Now, if we should assemble a floating army, (commonly called a fleet,) composed of

many batallions (sloops of war.) frigates (regiments,) and ships-of-the line (brigades.) and desire to place this *floating* army under the command of one officer. what should be his title? We have followed all other nations in using the title of commander and captain for officers of the Navy commanding single ships, and in courtesy, we have given the name of Commodore to a Captain, while commanding two or more vessels, technically called a squadron, a detachment of a fleet, and a pliant courtesy continues, the title, and hence the saying, "once a Commodore, always a Commodore." We have in our Navy, by law, only two grades of commanding officers; the grade of "Commanders," formerly called "Masters Commandant," who command vessels carrying twenty-four guns, and under this number, and the grade of Captains, formerly called "post-captains," who command ships carrying more than twenty-four guns. When our Navy was small, and its services were rendered chiefly in single ships, these grades were enough; but now when the navy has increased in the number of its ships, and many are brought to act in concert to achieve one object, as in the Gulf of Mexico before Vera Cruz, there seems to be propriety in giving to the Navy a grade of officers adapted to the nature of the duties required of it. In Military communities, seniority of commission alone is not sufficient to enable an officer to discharge efficiently, the duties of a Commander-in Chief. The unhappy personal contention and difficulty which existed so long between the late Commodores Perry and Elliot, it is suggested, were due to the fact that these two gallant officers were of the same grade, in the famous battle of Lake Erie. A Commander in-Chief should be of a grade superior to that of any subordinate to him, and answer to a different title: for it is not well that one who has once commanded in chief, should be exposed to serve afterwards, subordinate to any one who may be commanding in chief for the first time. Military and Naval technicalities have been settled by the practice of the nations of Europe, which we imitate in many things; to refuse to employ these technical names because they are employed by the English, is to be more fastidious than wise It may be urged that the title of Captain is enough, because custom vests the chief command in the senior; the same argument would be equally cogent if it were urged that the grade and title of lieutenant is enough, because, in the absence of a higher grade, the senior lieutenant commands; and to go still further, in the absence of a higher grade, the senior, passed midshipman or midshipman, would command, and therefore, it might be contended, the grade and title of midshipman is enough for the Navy of the United States, which should be organized on the severest principles of republican simplicity. But why not apply argument of the same character to the Army, and send 20,000 men into the field under the senior officer of the grade, and name of lieutenant, or captain? Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor, were not braver soldiers, nor better, nor more scientific leaders, in consequence of being entitled General Scott and General Taylor, than they would have been, had they lead our armies to the field under the name and style of captain. Our fellow citizens are too familiar with what is proper in military affairs on shore, not to know the signification of the titles of major, colonel, general, &c.; these several titles are freely applied to citizens who never "set a squadron in the field," or even directed a single company on drill. Against these titles, there is no popular prejudice. The nation would not send an army of even four or five thousand men into the field under the command of an officer of the grade and name of Captain, or of Major, or even of Colonel; every body would consent that even this small army required a Major General, and one or two Brigadier Generals. The prejudice of ignorance of masses of men who have power, is wonderful in its effects; intelligent politicians seldom venture to run counter to any popular prejudice even among democrats, and rare y attempt to enlighten the ignorant at the risk of popularity at the polls.

Whether the Navy has become so large as to require the creation of higher grades in it. I am not now to argue or even express an opinion; but, if higher grades be necessary, it is hoped, legislators will not fail to act because the word Admiral is not familiar to their constituents. If these latter be Roman Catholics, or protestant Episcopalians, let their representatives remind them of the numerous grades of officers which form a Church, as The Queen, Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith; Archbishops; Bishops; Archdeacons; Deacons; Vicars; Priests; Rectors; Curates, &c., &c.; and remind them that it might be difficult to organize an Episcopal or Roman Church, and find new and appropriate names for its various officers, different from those now employed in Europe. It would be as difficult to make some other word mean Admiral, as it would to make some other word mean Bishop or Archbishop in the opinion of the parties interested. But let us drop the dispute about words, names. If we require a Navy, let it be as efficient and as complete in all its appointments as our means will permit, that it may secure for our commerce throughout the world a profitable respect. If we were totally without a Navy, "our commerce would be a prey to the wanton intermeddlings of all nations at

war with each other; who, having nothing to fear from us, would, with little scruple or remorse, supply their wants by depredations on our property, as often as it fell in their way. The rights of neutrality will only be respected, when they are defended by an adequate power. A nation, despicable by its weakness, forfeits even the privilege of being neutral."*

Individuals are bound to observe the conventional customs of the society in which they may live at the peril of contempt or disrespect; like individuals, nations must observe the conventional opinions of the family of nations, or suffer for their eccentricity, as any nation would surely suffer, if it presumed to exist without being at the expense of maintaining both an Army and Navy of some kind; and these should have, in semblance at least, too much strength to invite aggression.

The Navy of England for 1848, consisted of 43,000 men; with nearly as much commerce, that of the United States, at the same time, was 8,500, or about one-fifth.

"The Brandywine, sir,' remarked a very young midshipman, "is a great deal bigger ship than this, and must have more men and boats than we have, and I do not see the sense of taking away a boat's crew from us, just at the very time we want every man to work ship, going into port."

"Do you presume, youngster, to criticise the orders of the Commodore; take care, sir, or you'll be hauled up for disrespect to your superior officer."

"I say we do want every man to work ship: if we don't, why does the master-at-arms send up on deck all the servants; steerage, and ward-room and cabin boys, cooks and all, when all hands are called to bring ship to anchor? I wonder how they manage to anchor merchant ships; in proportion, they have not quarter as many men as we have!"

I might have told the midshipman, the Commodore fully understands the necessity (or desire) to be strongly manned on bringing ship into port; but by using our boat to row four miles against the tide, he presumes he will receive private letters from home, as well as official communications, at least an hour earlier, because to obtain the letter bag by his boat, she must pass over double the distance to come to our vessel and return, and of course occupy double the time. Besides, an exhibition of power is supposed to contribute to the preservation of discipline, no matter if it do wear the aspect of using official authority for personal gratification. It might be asked, why should a Commodore, in command of the United States Fleet, serving on the coast of Brazil, have power to exact obedience, in small matters, from a ship on her way to the East Indies? This power is necessary, perhaps, to meet great emergencies; it may be possibly abused to gratify personal vanity in the Commodore, or "Admiral," as the "signal book" writes it.

The boat has gone to the "Admiral" with his letter bag. All is in repose. Conjecture is busy; but most minds are wondering when the sea-breeze—sometimes called, from its supposed healthful influence, "the Doctor"—will begin. Possibly not, till one or two o'clock in the afternoon; it is very irregular; on some days, it fails entirely, or is so light that it will not enable a ship to pick her way through the eddies and currents to the anchorage. But there comes a boat with an American flag; it proved to be the gig of the gay commander of the U. S. ship —— from Callao, bound to New York. He brought us news of the change in the French government; the King gone to England a fugitive; and his throne usurped by a mad poet and a half dozen equally sapient coadjutors. But what was quite as interesting to our vanity, the gallant Captain assured us that the "Mexican war or rather, the conquest of California, had raised American character-stock abroad fifty per cent; that the John Bulls admit now we *are* a great people, and no mistake!"

About one o'clock, P. M., a breath came from sea-ward, the tide was propitious, and the anchor was hove up, sail made: we passed gently between the forts, and were in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro; but about four o'clock, P. M., the wind failed, and the ship was anchored at least three miles from the city,

The next morning at day light, "all hands to scrub hammocks and bags," was shouted through the ship by the boatswain's mates, and the operation was immediately commenced. Every man spread out his hammock, free from its clews, on the deck, well soaped and sprinkled it with sand, and then spent some twenty minutes upon his knees, scrubbing with a hard hand brush. Clothes' bags and duck frocks were in turn submitted to a similar process, and at the end of an hour, they were secured to lines and hoisted up to the ends of the yards to dry. Washing day is commonly appointed by the Commodore's order, and it is usual to see all the ships of a squadron in port, bedecked at the same time during the morning, with the washed clothes and hammocks of their crews. Lines are stretched from the end of the jib-boom to the spanker-boom, and supported at the extremities of the lower yards, and from these lines the hammocks and bags are suspended, while clothes are hung from lines stretched between the fore and main

*Alexander Hamilton—The Federalist.

shrouds. Wash-day is over before breakfast; ironing is never thought of. There is something very striking and agreeable in the aspect of ships of war lying in a calm harbor, with the white hammocks hung up to dry, in the manner indicated. The scene has always conveyed to my mind a sign of cleanliness and comfort, and of contentment on board.

Soon after dinner, the washed clothes were "piped down," and the sea-breeze coming fresh into the harbor, the ship was again got underway and moored at the usual anchorage of men-of-war off Rat Island.

CHAPTER IX.

Harbor of Rio de Janeiro; Sugar Loaf; Gavia; Corcovado; Praia do Flamingo; The concealed waters: Aborigines of Rio de Janeiro; Respectability of the Portuguese.

Let us glance round this celebrated bay of Rio de Janeiro. It is somewhat pear shaped, the small end of the pear representing the entrance; its diameters are about twenty miles, more or less, but the surface of the water is broken by several islands; the shores of the harbor are thrown into coves and bays, and points and highlands and headlands. The back ground is formed by irregular mountains of considerable height, so that not more than five miles from the ocean, we float in a great basin, bounded by picturesque mountain scenery, clothed in the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics.

Observe the peaks on the south western side of the anchorage. First, the dark cove of granite at the entrance, called the Pão d'Assucar, or Sugar Loof, said to be 900 feet high: immediately after passing this remarkable rock, we open the beautiful bay of Botofogo; and beyond it might be seen a truncated peak, presenting a square surface resembling a ship's topsail at a distance, and, therefore, called "Gavia," standing 1700 feet above the level of the sea. To the northward of it is another peak of the same height, called "Tejuco," and between the two is the often named peak of "Corcovado," which is 2,380 feet high. Near the base of Tejuco is a pretty country, and a chalybeate spring which may be reached from the city in an omnibus; invalids in the town who require a cooler atmosphere than is sometimes found there, resort to Tejuco. The very pinnacle of Corcovado is accessible on the back of a mule or a horse; and from its summit, more than 2,000 feet high, a view of land and sea may be had worth the toil of ascent. To the north, the mountain range, blue in the distance, is 600 feet high, and to the north and east is broken into fantastic peaks, which have been compared to the pipes of an organ, and this fancied resemblance has given the name to the range—os Orgãos—the Organ Mountains.

Now drop the eye from the pinnacle to the base of the mountains, to the western limits of the waters of the harbor. Between the Sugar Loaf and a bold headland is the entrance of Botofogo bay, whose shore is lined by "quintas," or "chacras," or "villas," the country residence of men of business. When unexpectedly brought to view for the first time, a beholder from the temperate zone might fancy that the scenery of some gorgeous, dramatic temple had been converted into substantial things, for all is so light, so gay, so happy, that it seems rather a poetic scene than a real natural view. The bay of Botofogo charmed the earliest European visiters; between the base of the Sugar Loaf, and the Hill of San João,* the first settlement of Rio de Janeiro had its site; it was founded by Estacio de Sa in 1567, and was called *Villa Velha*—Old Town,—but not a vestige of it now remains.

Next to the headland of Botofogo is a long strip of beach, on whose white sand the sea rolls; and behind it are dwelling houses and gardens, and that section of the City called Catete. This beach is known as the *Praia do Flamingo*. To the north it is interrupted by a broken point of land, about a hundred feet high, on which is placed a small white church dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Gloria. Between the Gloria church and the next point of land to the north, called "Ponta Calabouça," is a shallow cove, fronting a long row of one story white buildings; the southern end of this beach is called *Praia das Freiras*, and at the northern, the *Praia Santa Luzia*.

Between Ponta Calabouça, (once fortified, and still the site of the convent of St. Sebastian,) and the Ilha das Cobras is another cove, which forms the chief water-front of Rio de Janeiro.

The island of Cobras is about twenty yards from the land; it is covered by a fortress, and is a depot of naval stores. Over its western end may be seen, crowning a high hill, the convent of San Bento, a Benedictine establishment of considerable wealth, begun in 1596; and near its eastern extremity is a celebrated rock, called Ilha dos rattos, rat island. Navigators, who visit this port, select this spot to make observations to determine the rate of their chronometers, although the longitude of the rock itself has not been certainly ascertained. But over the Ponta Calabouça, rising above the convent-pile of St. Sebastian, may be seen the newly finished

* Dennis. Abreu, Compendio da Historia da Brazil.

dome of the first Astronomical Observatory, established in Brazil, which is built on the walls of the temple begun by the ancient jesuits on the Morro do Castello; it is under direction of some of the professors of the Military school, and subject to the War department of the imperial government.* The church of St. Sebastian was founded in 1567, in commemoration of a decisive victory gained by Salvador Correa de Sa over the French under Villigaignon, and the aboriginal tribe of Tamoyos, their allies, on the 20th of January of that year, which is the day marked by religious observances in honor of St. Sebastian, after whom the city of Rio de Janeiro was first named by the Portuguese founders. The Astronomical instruments will soon be mounted, and the longitude of Rat Island will be accurately determined. Already the meridian of Rio de Janeiro is made the longitudinal zero for measuring the extent of the empire by Brazilians. (See Appendix—Description of Brazil.) The island of Cobras then is a remarkable point; it separates the anchorage of merchant ships, which is to the north, from that occupied by ships of war. To the north we see Ilha do Governador—Governor's island—which is eight or nine miles in length, constituting a part of the rich domain of the Benedictine order in Brazil, with numerous islets, and a broad sheet of water lost in the distance: to the east we have a series of coves and headlands, and a thriving village now called the city of Nictheroy, stretched along a beach named Praia Grande. Near to it is the village of San Domingo, where foreigners sought for Madame Constant to purchase "Dolces"—sweetmeats, among which limes may be set down as the most popular.

On these various and numerous points are dwellings, or forts, or churches, or convents, nestled in shrubbery, or shaded by palms and bananas; and as far as eye can see, it may detect white country houses perched, in the valleys, on prominent knolls, and in contrast with the green and naturally picturesque scenery around on every hand.

"'tis a woundrous sight to see,
What heaven hath done for this delicious land."

A little more than three centuries since, all these hills and valleys and mountains were the free heritage of the children of the soil. They wandered over the land and thought it theirs, and where they had their homes they resisted the aggression of their neighbors, and acknowledged no masters. The people who inhabited the country around this bay constituted a warlike tribe, called Tupinambas. They wore ornaments suspended through artificial holes in their lips and cheeks, as our ladies now ornament their ears, (but more delicately to be sure,) their bodies were tatooed or painted, not the faces, and a crown of feathers and collar of conch shells, constituted the high costume on great occasions. Still, they were not always fierce; sometimes they were hospitable to strangers, and they seemed to have loved their wives and children. They were close observers of nature; like the North American Indians, they bestowed significant names on places. The bay of Rio de Janeiro the learned Tupinambas called Ganabara, or Nichtheroy, which being translated, is "the concealed waters." These, with the lands, were given to the throne of Portugal by a generous Pope of Rome; his generosity like that of frequent modern instances in a small way, cost him nothing, for he could not take the country himself, and therefore he gave it in fee simple to those who thought they could possess it in defiance of natural ownership by the aborigines. The Tupinambas, as well as almost all the littoral inhabitants of Brazil at the time of the discovery, have been sacrificed, *nominally*, to please our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but in fact to the cupidity, lust and cruelty of European adventurers, who were ever ready to make religion the cloak and excuse for murder and robbery. Have the hearts of men changed much since those days of exemplary piety, or has intelligence become too generally diffused to permit officers of religion to domineer over the consciences and rights of men. Would a pope in this century dare to give away a newly discovered country to any throne; even Wilkes's new continent is safe from papal generosity. But it is well that the old names, Ganabara and Nichtheroy, have been changed; for these are no longer "concealed waters;" the shores are no longer solitary and silent; a dreary solitude amidst such scenery would almost inspire fear; but that has disappeared and vanished with the aborigines: not one of those who once wandered on these shores by moonlight, or sped lightly over the "concealed waters" in his canoe, breathing love to his Fayaway, or seeking to surprise his foe, is left. A lapse of three hundred years, and what a change!

The waters of the harbor are cut by hundreds of keels; merchant ships from almost all countries, followed up by their respective men-of-war, as pilot-fishes, being most harmless, are said to preceed sharks; boats moving under tall latine sails, or rowed by half-naked negroes, are scattered in various directions, and small black steamers are puffing and splashing between the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Praia Grande,—city of Nichtherhoy—and Botofogo, neighboring centres

* Annuario politico.

of population. Place two hundred thousand actors on this stage, amidst the scenery I have indicated, and imagination will create beauties and positions to delight even fastidious lovers of both the simple and the dramatic in nature.

There is a history or a tradition connected with almost every point I have named. Let us run back a few centuries. Like most of the Anglo-Saxon race living in this year, 1848, I fear you entertain, if not a contemptuous, certainly not a very respectful opinion of the Portuguese, or of any of the blood. Portugal has ceased to be a prominent nation; she has ceased to act, and is in fact nationally dead, and the existing generations—young America, if not young England—pass by every thing that is of Portuguese origin, except Port wine, and even that, it is supposed of late years, is improved by baptism in London. If we cannot respect the Portuguese for what they are, possibly we may respect them for what they have done in times past; they once constituted a highly respectable nation; but from too much pride, ambition, or glory in her people; or perhaps from being too easily successful in her enterprises, Portugal has fallen into national senility and weakness. Her commerce, her manufactures, her agriculture, attract little attention; her science and her literature are now so unimportant to the rest of the world, it has become a very general opinion, that there is nothing in the Portuguese language to compensate for the toil of its acquisition.* One no more thinks a knowledge of Portuguese, or Dutch, is necessary to a polite education than the Quéchua of Peru, or the Hawaiian tongue of the Sandwich islands. Both Holland and Portugal are unfortunate in their languages, which strangers find to be harsh and disagreeable; but to their credit it can be said, Brazilians and Portuguese, and Hollanders too, when educated, are taught to converse fluently in French—which is more than can be said of our diplomatic agents at all foreign courts. Elpino complains, in one of his odes of the fashion in Lisbon to study French to the neglect of the Portuguese, by the *pettits maitres* of his time—

> "Não fallão
> Já nossos moços Portuguez, só parlão
> Ou Linguas estrangeiras, que mal sabem,
> Ou hum Dialecto informe, nunca ouvido,
> De Portuguez e de Fracez meado."—p. 78, tom. 1.

Indeed, it has been my duty more than once to explain to otherwise well educated Anglo-Saxons, that Dutchmen and Germans speak distinct languages; that a Hollander cannot understand a German or be understood by him. Do not suppose that these remarks are prompted altogether by circumstances or events connected with my present associations.

Monuments of Portuguese glory stand prominently on almost every chart or map of any portion of the southern hemisphere, in the Portuguese names borne by islands, capes, coasts, towns or cities; but neither these names, nor those of the Albuquerques, of Vasco de Gama, who led the way round the Cape of Good Hope; of Magellan, whose starry clouds attract the gaze of the southern voyager, whose vessel was the first to circumnavigate the earth; nor "Os Lusiadas," the epic of Camoens; nor the poesias of Antonio Ferreira have been enough to secure respectful consideration for the Portuguese by Anglo-Saxons of the present day. Whether in Europe, Africa, India, China, or Brazil, members of the mass of the Anglo-Saxon race, when visiting Portuguese settlements, speak of the inhabitants among themselves under the name of *Daygoes*, "Diegos" that is,—Jimmies, somewhat contemptuously used, as the epithet "Yankee," or "Jonathan," was once freely applied to all Americans by the English:—the term Yankee is not now very frequently employed in that sense. I am sometimes reminded of the grave opinion of an American sailor, that every man who does not speak English, might be safely hung as a pirate. "Sir," said Jack, who had seized a poor Spanish countryman on suspicion, when piracies were frequent near the island of Cuba—"Sir," said he, respectfully touching his hat to his commanding officer, "he can't speak English: what better evidence do you want that he's a bloody pirate?"

CHAPTER X.

Sketch of Brazilian History; Name and Discovery of the Country; Founding of Rio de Janeiro; The site of the City.

Before landing, let us refresh our memories a little in the history of the foundation of the city; an outline of events connected with Brazil, generally may be gathered from the chronological table appended.

On the 22d day of April, A. D., 1500, Pedro Alvares Cabral, in command of a Portuguese squadron, descried the land in about seventeen degrees of South latitude; but not finding there a convenient harbor or port, he steered to the northward, and entered a bay, afterwards named Porto Seguro, where, on the first day of May,

* Vide, Poesias de Elpino Duriense—tomo 1, p. 68—71. Lisboa, 1812.

> Docemente suspira doce canta
> A Portugueza Musa, filha herdeira
> Da Grega e da Latina.

1500, in the name of Dom Manuel, King of Portugal, he formally took possession of the newly discovered country, and named it VERA CRUZ—the new country of *Vera Cruz.** This name for Brazil is found upon ancient maps, drawn prior to the middle of the sixteenth century; since that period, the country has been known, under its present designation. About the year 1503, two vessels returned to Portugal from Porto Seguro, laden with a wood, which from the intense brightness of its color, was called *braza*, or live coals, by the Portuguese; the name thus given to the wood, was afterwards attached to the country, which Cabral had called Vera Cruz.

It seems the coloring properties of the wood were accidentally discovered. An ancient voyager in the 16th century, relates, that while in the country—"we made excellent fires of this Brazil wood: I remarked, being less humid than other trees, but naturally dry, that it made very little or no smoke while burning. One day, one of our company, wishing to bleach our shirts, without suspecting any thing, put some of the ashes of this wood into the lye, which, instead of making them white, made them red, and although we hastened to wash them afterwards, we could not make them lose the color, and so we had to wear them."†

It is recorded that a Spaniard, Juan Dias de Solis, visited the harbor, now called Rio de Janeiro, in the year 1515, then known by the name of Nictheroy, or Niterohy—the concealed waters; and in 1519, two Portuguese navigators, in the service of Charles I., entered this bay, and remained here from the 13th till the 27th of December; they gave it the name of *Bahia de Santa Luzia*.

About three years afterwards, King John III., of Portugal, hearing that the Spaniards settled on the Rio de la Plata were incroaching on the domains of the Portuguese, fitted out an expedition, under the command of Martim Affonso de Souza, directing that he should erect fortifications and distribute lands to those who might wish to establish themselves in the country. The squadron touched at Bahia, and, on the 30th of April, 1531, anchored in the bay of Rio de Janeiro; it remained there three months, and sailed on the 1st of August. Now, the Father Ayres de Casal says, in his Corographia Brazilica, that the squadron, after being refreshed at Porto Seguro, entered the bay of *Santa Luzia*, the name of which was changed to Rio de Janeiro, because they entered it on the first day of the year 1532. But, according to the Diary of Pero Lopes de Souza, it is very clear this was not the cause of the change in the name, if a change were made, because the entrance occurred on the 30th April, 1531, and not as Father Ayres supposes, on the 1st of January, 1532; at the time, the name *Rio de Janeiro* was already known, inasmuch, as Pero Lopes very simply says:—"Saturday, April 30, at four o'clock in the morning we were up with the mouth of Rio de Janeiro"—from which it must be inferred he had heard the name before he arrived.*

The deduction from all this is, that the Europeans who called this the "River of January," believed the bay was the mouth of a great river; the fact is, however, the streams which empty into it, are very small.

Of the founding of the city, I can merely relate, substantially, the statement of Gen. Abreu e Lima; he seems to be careful in his assertions, and therefore, it is probably correct.

The importance which Brazil assumed in the estimation of the Portuguese government, the natural products of a country whose wealth was exaggerated in all accounts of it, seemed to suggest to all commercial and navigating people of Europe, that their flags might also float on the ocean which laved the western shores of South America. Some French cruisers had already made Bahia and Cape Frio celebrated in their country; and those places, in their opinion, should not be exclusively occupied by Portuguese. The idea of a permanent settlement in Brazil, occurred, among the first, to Nicholas Durand de Villegaignon, a Knight of Malta, and Vice Admiral of Brittany; he designed to establish here a kind of independent Sovereignty, which might be an asylum for Calvinists, whose dogmas he had adopted: his relations with Admiral Coligny, favored his views in this respect.

In imitation of Spain and Portugal, under the pretext of forming settlements in the new world, Villegaignon concealed from the Crown of France, the chief object of his ambition, and to induce Coligny to support him with all his power, he assured him of the certainty of founding in Brazil, a colony of Calvinists; his art obtained for him the command of two well-armed ships, and with them, he proceeded to the bay of Nictheroy, in November 1555. The Tupinambas, who inhabited this part of Brazil, had, for a long time, trafficked with the Corsairs of Dieppe; and on this account, they joyfully received the French, supposing they had come to deliver them from the oppression with which they were threatened, by neighboring tribes of savages. On a desert island, belted by rocks on a level with the surface of the water, the Admiral disembarked;

* Abreu e Lima—Historio do Brazil—Brésil par M. Ferdinand Denis.

† Denis.

* Historio do Brazil—Abreu e Lima.

he there constructed a rude fortress, which he gave the name of Coligny, but it now bears that of its founder.

After establishing his first relations with the natives, Villegaignon took care to impress on the Crown of France, the value of his brilliant acquisition, and to ask for reinforcements; and, at the same time, he secretly asked Coligny to send out Doctors or Priests of the Calvinistic Sect. In short, a new expedition was prepared at the cost of Henry II., under the command of *Bois le Comte*, a nephew of the same Villegaignon, with a colony of French Protestants, and two Calvinist Ministers: this expedition arrived in March, 1557, at Fort Coligny, where it was received most kindly by Villegaignon. But the support and propagation of Calvinism was no longer the chief object proposed; he began to show a preference for temporal interests. The total change in the conduct and opinions of Villegaignon, at once proved to the Protestant colonists, that this Chief had disappointed the expectations of Coligny.

The zeal he had manifested for the reformed religion, was feigned: when it became his interest to change his party, he let fall the masque, betraying and persecuting the Protestant colonists. This sudden change was attributed to letters from Cardinal de Lorena, which charged that he had abjured the Catholic faith. After the conspiring against his life, he became more haughty and cruel, and treated the Protestants with great severity, expelling them from the fort and from the Continent. Villegaignon did not long retain a power which he abused in the most odious manner. His means of defence being very much reduced, he resolved to return to France, (metropolis,) and obtain new aid and a successful termination of his projects. He left the fort and island, garrisoned by a hundred Frenchmen in his confidence, and on setting out, he caused a Protestant Minister, who had remained with him, to be thrown into the sea.

The disturbances which followed the death of Henry II., contravened his vast designs. Finally, as soon as his nascent colony fell into the power of the Portuguese, he renounced all his hopes in Brazil, as well as the hopes which had so long flattered his ambition; and returning to his estate in Beauvais, he died after some years, leaving an unenviable memory behind him. Ambition and religious zeal divided the most remarkable epoch of his life. Each of these sentiments served him alternately for masque; and when he ceased to play this double part, declaring himself to be opposed to Calvinism, he received the name of the *Cain of America*, from the French Protestants.

It is difficult to understand how the Court of Lisbon, jealous of its commercial advantages, should suffer four years to elapse without being disquieted by the enterprize of Villegaignon. The Jesuits at last roused the cabinet at Lisbon from lethargy by their reports, and finally brought Mendo de Sà an order to attack and expel the French from Fort Coligny; but desiring to execute this part of his instructions, he found great repugnance in the counsel of his subordinates, whose apprehensions were dissipated by Padre Nobrega, who accompanied the governor in this expedition, giving the best proof of correct judgment, in the skill with which he drew succours from S. Vicente, which decided the success of the enterprize.

Finally, Fort Coligny was taken by assault in 1560, the French escaped by flying to their ships or to the main land, where, joined by the Tamoyos, they fortified themselves again. Mendo de Sà not having sufficient force to hold the island, withdrew the artillery, demolished the works, and embarked for Santos, with the view of visiting the first and most ancient Captaincy of Brazil. During his residence there, he directed the establishment of Santo Andrè to be transferred to Piratininga, because exposed to sudden attacks from hostile tribes. In this new locality, the colony took the name of S. Paulo, and came to be the most considerable, and most flourishing city in this part of Brazil. As the road from Santos to S. Paulo was difficult, and infested by Tamoyos, a better and safer road was opened under the direction of the Jesuit Missionaries.

On returning to S. Salvador, the governor found himself engaged against the Aymores, who laid waste the Captaincies of Ilheos and Porto Seguro; he marched against them, beating them in various attacks, and drove them seventy leagues into the interior. Still, while Mendo de Sá obtained this triumph on one side, on the other was formed one of the most terrible confederations of savages, that ever threatened the Portuguese power in Brazil. The Tamoyos, masters of the whole country between Rio de Janeiro and S. Vicente, joined to attack the Portuguese. Successful in their first attack, they set their eyes upon S. Paulo, which would have been annihilated had not a Catechist discovered their project. The town itself was attacked, but defended by the Christian Indians, commanded by Martim Affonso, (baptismal name of the celebrated Tebyreça,) resisted, with destruction to the savages.

But, if the valor of this Chief and the zeal of the Jesuits were manifest in the successful defence of S. Paulo, on the other hand the enemy was victorious in S. Vicente, and in the Captaincy of Espirito Santo, where Ferdinando de Sá, son of the Governor, died fighting. The war

was obstinately continued on the part of the Tamoyos; all the tribes united for a general attack, and the danger seemed imminent when the two Apostles of Brazil, (Nobrega and Anchieta,) full of zeal and faith, determined to risk themselves with the savages in hope of obtaining peace. In effect, after five months spent in suffering, anxiety and sacrifices of all kinds, God crowned the labors of his ministers, in a pacification which had been so difficult to obtain. The wonderful embassy of the two Missionaries was considered to have saved the Portuguese colonies.

War was not enough; another calamity pressed upon the rising colonies. Smallpox was introduced in the island of Itaparica, afterwards into S. Salvador, and extended its ravages on the northern coast: nearly thirty thousand Indians, who had been converted by the Jesuits, were rapidly carried off by the disease. This destructive contagion was followed by the slow, lingering scourge of famine; as if the atmosphere were contaminated, plants rotted, and all the productions of nature as well as men, seemed to be attacked by langnor and death. The famine caused a second mortality; of eleven establishments formed by the Jesuits, six were destroyed, either by death of the inhabitants or by their desertion in numbers; they fled to the interior, seeking an asylum from so many ills.

When the Court of Lisbon was informed that Nobrega and Anchieta had concluded a peace with the Tamoyos, it was at once determined to found a colony at Rio de Janeiro, without delay, and exclude the French altogether, who had somehow, remained masters of the post in spite of their defeat. In virtue of this resolution, the Queen Regent despatched Estacio de Sá, nephew of the Governor, with six galleons for Bahia, (1564.) where he brought an order to his uncle to aid him with all the colonial force in expelling the French from the continent. Mendo de Sà immediately assembled all his disposable force, and placed it under the command of his nephew, who sailed for Rio de Janeiro and then S. Vicente, where others joined his standard, and he obtained some small vessels, which were essential to his success.

As the preparations at S. Vicente consumed the rest of the year, 1564, Estacio de Sá could not return to Rio before the beginning of the next year, when he disembarked near the Sugar Loaf at a place now known by the name of Praia Vermelha, where his dispositions for attacking the French were made; but they being advised of his approach, repulsed him in all his attacks, and sustained the contest more than a year, in spite of the force, council, and boldness of the indefatigable missionary Nobrega. All the resources of the South being exhausted, it became necessary to ask the assistance of the Governor General; in consequence of this application, Mendo de Sá equipped a fleet, under the command of Christavão de Barros, and accompanying the reinforcement in person, he arrived at his nephew's camp on the 18th of January, 1567. The general attack was deferred until the day of St. Sebastian, on which occasion the French lost the strong fort *Uraçumiri*, not one of the Tamoyos who defended the entrenchments escaping. The conquerors would have marched against another fortress of the French, which they also would have carried by assault; but, in the first attack, Estacio de Sá received an arrow in the face, from the effects of which, he died a month afterwards. His cousin, Salvador Corrêa de Sá, who was named his successor, at once assumed the command.

Estacio de Sá was subsequently interred in the church of St. Sebastian, in which his epitaph, dated, 1585. is still seen. He was the founder of Villa-Velha, which stood on the Praia Vermelha, immediately to the West, and at the base of the Sugar Loaf. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, three forts, called São-Diogo, São-Theodosio and São-João, were built adjacent to Villa-Velha; and subsequently the fort now known as the "forte de Praia Vermelha," was constructed.*

Few French died in these two decisive actions, in which the allied Tamoyos had sustained the whole weight of the fight. When the latter succumbed, the French embarked in four vessels they had in port, and sailed for Pernambuco, where they were driven back by the Governor of the Captaincy, so that there was nothing left them but to return to Europe. Thus terminated forever in Brazil, an ephemeral power which threatened the prospects of the Portuguese colonies. Surely, if Mendo de Sá had been less loyal, if Nobrega and Anchieta had been less skilful, Rio de Janeiro, now the capital of Brazil, would have been, perhaps, a French colony. Immediately after the victory, the Governor General, in obedience to his instructions, traced on the western shores of the bay, the plan of a new city, which, after existing for two centuries, became the metropolis of Portugnese America.

Scarcely had the new city of St. Sebastian assumed a regular aspect, when Salvador Corrêa de Sá, the same who had distinguished himself in the conquest, became Governor. Created first Chief Alcalde, he was inaugurated to the office with all the formalities usual in Portugal. The Chief of the converted Indians, Martim Affonso de Souza, *alias* Arariboia, who had distinguished himself so much in the last expeditions, was settled with his people on the other side of the

*Dicionario Geographico, historico e descriptiro do Emperio do Brazil. Pariz, 1845.

bay, in the place now called San Lorenço. In the meanwhile, there arrived at Cape Frio, four French vessels, probably the same which had been driven from Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco; Mendo de Sá had returned to San Salvador, and only a small force remained in charge of the Governor; nevertheless, Salvador Corrêa de Sá, aided by the celebrated Ararigboia, succeeded in again expellieg them, taking one vessel with heavy guns, which we used to protect the bar. When the young king, Dom Sebastian heard of the noble deportment of the Brazilian Chief, Martim Affonso de Souza, he bestowed on him the "habit of Christ," and sent him presents of great value, among which, was a coat of arms, an honorable mark of appreciation and esteem.

The Jesuits, always busy in propagating the faith, had rendered great services to the Crown of Portugal, both in India and America, and for this reason, the King resolved to send to Brazil a reinforcement of these Missionaries with Dom Luiz de Vasconcellos, whom he selected to succeed Mendo de Sá, in the government of the colony. Sixty-nine Priests assembled at Lisbon, and embarked in the fleet destined to carry the new Governor. At that period, Portugal had not sent to the West any considerable expedition; but opposed by winds and currents, it was separated and totally destroyed by two famous Corsairs, Jacques de Soria, and João Capdeville, Huguenots, from Rochelle, intent upon exterminating all Catholics who might fall into their power. The unfortunate Governor died fighting; and of the sixty-nine Missionaries, scarcely one reached his destination to relate the misfortunes and martyrdom of his companions.

Nobrega did not live to learn the fate of these new martyrs of his Order; he died about the same date in the 53d year of his age, bent with the weight of great toil and continued fatigue. Nobrega for his incessant vigilance and benefits rendered, deserves to figure honorably in the annals of Brazil, where he established a moral tone on religious foundation, and with sound policy sustained a vacillating colony; he was the true legislator of the Indians. No one ever spent his life more actively, nor more usefully for his country, and for his fellow beings.*

The site of the city of St. Sebastian or Rio de Janeiro, is a marshy plain, studded by lofty hills of granite, or rather granitic gneiss, clothed in luxuriant vegetation. At first sight, this can scarcely be supposed. The soil on the hill sides is remarkably thin, and in any climate of less moisture and temperature, would be inadequate to support the vegetable growth upon it. In the valleys, it is deeper, an alluvium being washed down the declivities by the rains, and deposited upon a thick bed of clay, which underlies nearly the whole of the district, and keeps the surface of the earth from becoming dry by natural drainage.*

When the city was commenced, on the Puntu Calabouça, the vicinity was almost constantly overflowed by pools of stagnant water, which were prejudicial to the general health of the population. Staunton, Macartney, and other voyagers, notice this condition, and it remained until the time of Dom Pedro I., when the marsh was drained and improved. A view from the Convent of San Bento, or a ride towards the imperial residence of San Christovão will satisfy the voyager of the real nature of the topography, and lead him to suppose that there are sources of miasma enough in the neighborhood, to render the place unhealthy at certain seasons. Indeed, intermittent fevers prevail around the bay of Rio de Janeiro, especially amongst those of the population who are imperfectly nourished and sheltered, at all times; and occasionally it is severe and fatal in its effects. In 1845, there was considerable mortality and suffering on the Ilha do Governador, which was traced to extensive marshes, by Doctor João José Vieira, who was appointed by the government to investigate the subject.†

—

CHAPTER XI.

Hotel Faroux; Santa Theresa; Cemetery; Market; Funeral of an Infant; Hackney Coach; Suburban Residence; Sunday in Rio; Mode of Washing; The Corcovado; Comparison of Foreign Trade; Value of Commerce with the United States; Importance of the Navy to Commerce and the Country; Employment of the

* Compendio da Historio do Brazil. Vol. 1: p. 80.

* See, Travels in the interior of Brazil, principally through the northern provinces, and the gold and diamond districts, during the years 1836–'41. By George Gardiner, M. D., F. L. S., &c. Second edition. Reeve, Benham and Reeve. London. 1849.

Sketches of Residence and Travel in Brazil, embracing historical and geographical notices of the empire and its several provinces. By Daniel P. Kidder. 2 vols. Sorin & Ball. Philadelphia, 1845. (Many of the illustrations of this work, have been copied from original drawings, by Fleury, Debret, H. Lalaisse, and Vernier, published in costly European works on Brazil.)

Brésil. Par. M. Ferdinand Denis. In, L'Univers, ou Histoire et Description de Tous les Peuples. Firmin Didot Fréres. Paris, 1838.

Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829. By Rev. R Walsh, L. L. D., M. R. J. A., &c. 2 vols: 12 mo. Boston, 1831.

† Ammaréo polit. p. 46.

Navy in time of Peace. The worth of Glory to the Nation. Cost of the Navy not a criterion of its value.

May 3d. Ten years have passed since my last visit to Rio de Janeiro, and in that time, changes and improvements have been made. The depth of water has diminished at the old landing place, and there is a new slip about a hundred yards to the left of it. A building has been erected near, which is known as the Hotel Faroux, the common resort of foreign naval officers and others. It is a kind of restaurant, with the addition of lodging accommodations, such as they are.

Soon after landing, we made our way across the praça to the church, formerly known as the Igreja de la Imperatriz, and the Capella de Santa Theresa. A sacristan politely exhibited the silver altars, and the effigies of Saints, decorated in glittering robes, and a gilded sarcophagus, used for the temporary deposit of a corpse, between the time of the funeral obsequies and interment. In the private chapel of the Imperial family, is a good picture of Santa Theresa. We were shown the burial place, a hollow square, surrounded by three ranges of graves one above another, each being large enough to receive a body. In the centre of the square are marble cenotaphs of nobles, whose ashes are preserved here. Among them is a well finished statute of a female *en chemise*, in a kneeling posture, resting on a marble cushion. The hands are clasped, and repose upon the thighs; the face is turned upwards with a prayerful expression; this figure cannot fail to attract the attention of visiters.

On returning to the Hotel Faroux, we found some of our shipmates regaling themselves on beefsteak and mushrooms, partridges, &c., which, I doubt not, after a sea-diet of nearly two months, were especially savory.

I was welcomed to my sleeping apartment by the sight of several cockroaches an inch and a half long, which, in their flight, might have been mistaken for humming birds.

May 4th. Soon after day-light, I visited the market, a hollow square paved with flag-stones, in which were spread vegetables and fruits: Lettuce, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, egg-plants, onions, cucumbers, yams, yuccas, oranges, limes, chirimoyas, (but far inferior to those of Peru,) bananas, plantains, lemons, (sweet and sour,) a variety of fishes and poultry. The venders are all negresses; and having no other measures of capacity, sell vegetables by the handful, or by count. Butchers' meats, which are of very inferior quality, being lean and tough generally, and of high price, are sold at shops in another part of the town.

May 6th. At the church of Sánta Theresa today, we met the funeral of an infant of about two years of age. The body, dressed in scarlet silk, trimmed with gold lace, was borne in a half open bier. Fancy an oblong trunk with the top divided in the middle, and hinged on the sides, so that it opens to the right and left, and trimmed with silk and fringes, and a notion of this piece of funeral apparatus may be correctly drawn. There was no coffin; the dead child was gayly arrayed and reposed amidst flowers in its bier, the lids of which were open. No procession of mourners followed; only a few persons were present, and they seemed to be in no manner influenced by the dead child's presence. A Priest, in the appropriate costume or uniform of the church, holding in one hand a closed book, with a finger clasped between its leaves, while he scratched his bare head with the other, led the way, conversing with some person on a subject seemingly unconnected with his present duty. On arriving at the cemetery, the gate was closed, and the sexton declared it could not be opened, because his slave had gone off with the key. The bearers of the body, who were decently dressed male citizens, laughed at the sexton's manifest vexation. The priest readily extricated the parties from what seemed to me a disagreeable situation: he said, "Carry the body again into the church, and I will there further recommend the soul to God."

From this little incident, may be gathered, that the people of Rio de Janeiro regard the death of young persons with sentiments widely different from those which prevail with us. There was nothing to indicate that the close of the infant's life brought deep grief to parents or friends; the outward signs were rather of rejoicing than of sorrow; it went down to the tomb in gay silks and glittering lace, amidst flowers, arranged with as much affectionate care and parental pride, as if the mother had sent her darling on a birth-day visit, to be admired on the way. There was nothing to bring sad thoughts, or provoke a sympathizing tear. I have never beheld a funeral of a child at home, without some thought of the sorrowing parents, because I could not imagine a mother parting forever from a loved infant without acute mental suffering, even in spite of the solace which protestant Christianity affords. But here there must be an influence upon the selfishness of our nature different in its effects from that, to produce a custom and a feeling relatively to the death and burial of young children, so diametrically opposite to what we regard to be natural. Shall we condemn whatever we perceive in the habits of a people, because when measured

by our own, they are found to be different? I find no fault in this Brazilian custom, because I know of no absolute criterion by which to determine that it is right or wrong; but I imagine there is something in the teaching, in the education which enables Roman Catholic parents in Brazil, to bear more calmly than we can, the loss of young children.

Sunday, May 7th. About ten o'clock this morning, I went on shore with a friend, to pay a visit of invitation to a distinguished American gentleman resident here. We hired a vehicle for the day. The body hung low, on four wheels, and like a barouche, may be closed or left open at pleasure. Two very small mules were harnessed to this carriage. A coal black negro, under a glazed leather hat, which might have provoked the envy of a fireman, while his pedal extremities were hidden in the profundity of a pair of tall, stiff, leather military boots, sat upon the box. A blue frock coat with red facings and trimmings, completed the livery of our hackney coachman. Away we started, bouncing and thumping over the stones in a manner to test the strength of the turn-out, which seemed as frail and gaudy, as the carriage which, according to dramatic records, the fairies furnished to Cinderella. The jehu belabored the mules continually, and they heeded the blows so little, that the inference was palpable; long habit had made them insensible to this kind of stimulation.

Our route was through narrow streets in the southern part of the city, and along the road to the Corcovado, a distance of about three miles.

The suburban residence of our host, like all the houses of Rio, has the ground floor arranged for the accommodation of pleasure carriages, and the occupancy of servants. The drawing rooms and family apartments are on the second floor. This house is pleasantly situated. In front, a mountain, the sides of which are very steep and clothed in a luxuriant tropical vegetation, rises several hundred feet; and at its base a tiny stream flows from the Corcovado towards the sea. The peak of the Corcovado, seemingly almost overhead, is seen to the right when looking from the drawing room towards the road. A garden of about three acres rests on the base or lap of mountain in the rear. It might, without very great impropriety be termed an orchard; oranges were scattered under the trees, as we see apples in some parts of the United States. Besides, the cinnamon, (*laurus cinnamoni,*) cotton, and coffee, there were bananas and figs, and a tree called "*lucu,*" bearing a cordiform, hairy pod, filled with reddish seeds of the size of peas, which are used in soups, and for this purpose, are considered equal to tomatoes. There were many flowers of various kinds, and some of them strikingly beautiful.

Our worthy entertainer received us cordially, and at once supplied us with linen jackets to wear instead of the heavily laden cloth coats, which are usually worn by naval officers, under instructions of the Secretary of the Navy, and almost always at the cost of discomfort in tropical ports. A broad cloth coat, sprinkled with dozens of heavy brass buttons, besides other ornamental badges, closed to the chin, would not be worn in preference by any gentleman of taste or discretion, while walking under the blaze of a noon-day sun, in an atmosphere warmed up to a temperature of 90°F. We appreciated this act which contributed so much to our comfort; although it did reflect somewhat on the genius of those who devised the uniform dress of the navy, we had not courage to decline the use of the jackets provided for us.

In Rio de Janeiro Sunday is not a day of rest. On our way, as we passed along the streets, we observed that masons and carpenters were at work. Twenty or more negro men and women stood in the stream in front of the house, more than half-leg deep, washing soiled linen. They first imbued it plenteously with soap, and then, as if they were venting spite upon some stone or rock on the bank, they thrashed away right and left without regard to integrity of buttons, occationally dipping the piece into the water. The women had their skirts tucked up so that their lower extremities stood revealed to the hips, but no more. They sang cheerfully as they battled the rocks with their master's linen; and, to judge from appearances, were as happy and free as the spectators, but we were assured they were slaves.

Looking up to the Corcovado, I am reminded of a former visit, and of the notes I made at the time:—near Rio

> "There is a cliff whose high and bending head
> Looks fearfully in the confined deep"

for many a mile around. It is two thousand three hundred feet high, and at one time, the Corcovado, as it is named, was the site of a Look-out, from which the approach of vsesels was announced by signal. At present it is one of the sights of Rio, and is much resorted to by strangers soon after their arrival. The view is worth all the exertion it costs to reach the top; and I may remark, the toil of the excursion is much less than it is represented to be by those who have been long enough here to feel that proclivity to indolence produced by the climate.

One morning, accompanied by several officers, I landed, and after winding through several streets, began the ascent of the Corcovado, along the aqueduct. The day was cloudless, and eve-

rything was propitious for the excursion. Being full of spirits, we were capable of deriving the greatest pleasure from the beautifully romantic views that on every hand presented themselves: even a pencil guided by a skilful hand, cannot convey an adequate idea of the scenery and natural beauties seen in this ride. The air was balmy; the flowers were blooming though it was winter; bright valleys expanded below us, and above towered moss-covered rocks; and the stillness every where prevailing was only interrupted by the occasional note of a bird. Here and there we met amateur naturalists, and slaves of collectors in pursuit of insects, land shells and birds, in every part of the ascent. What exquisite pleasure many of my home-staying friends would have derived, could they have been with us; to see the endless variety of flowers, a vegetation new in almost all its forms to a northern eye, and a scenery for picturesqueness not exceeded in any part of the world.

We passed the "Casa da Agua" and continued our ride to the "Pavilion," not, however, without feeling distrust in the feet of hackney horses when riding on a narrow path, that struggled for existence between a deep precipice on one side and a wall-like rock on the other. The Pavilion is a name given to a spot where there was a rude round table, sheltered by a wooden shed, and surrounded by a few thatched huts, tenanted by the workmen and slaves who were occupied in extending the aqueduct to receive springs which pour out their waters from a higher point of the mountain. It is shut in by rocks on almost every side and is not discovered until nearly upon it. From this point the ascent to the peak is very difficult, and on horseback, very dangerous; therefore, it is usual to complete the journey on foot.

Here we met several ladies and gentlemen of our party, who had travelled a path on the side of a deep gorge or valley opposite to that by which we had ascended. They had already begun to spread upon the round table a substantial lunch to fortify us for the task we were about to undertake. While discussing the good things before us, which had been brought from the city in baskets, on the heads of slaves, I was amused by the appearance of a negro who had charge of our horses. His pantaloons reached only to his knees, and he wore a pair of boots without soles; so that his black skin was exposed above their tops, and his toes below. Yet, like one well pleased with himself, he strutted about in discharge of the duties of his office.

Having stored a basket with flasks of water and of wine to follow us, we began the ascent, which from this point is very steep; in many places the path was obstructed by fallen trees, and in others deeply worn by heavy rains, which fall at all seasons of the year. It was mid-day, and the trees grew so thickly together as to intercept the movement of the air, which was exceedingly hot and oppressive; and we often halted as we climbed to take breath and to cool ourselves. After toiling on our way nearly a half hour, we met a party of English gentlemen descending, and asked whether we were not near our journey's end.

"Oh no," replied one, "you are not more than half way up; and after you get there, you find nothing at all—but the view, and that is tolerably fine, to be sure." And, the view being all we expected, we pushed on.

At last we came out of the thick wood upon a naked rock, which bore the marks of fire; it was the site of a house which, we were told, had been burned some years previously by a party of reckless Frenchmen. Here we encountered a breeze, fresh from the sea, which made us button up our coats, and the ladies to draw their shawls more closely about them. A few steps more brought us to the top of the Corcovado, where we stood for some moments in silent admiration. The summit of the rock is about fifty feet in diameter, and its surface has a slight inclination landward. On it were the ruins of a look-out, on which are carved many names of persons ambitious of notoriety: the record must be read there, for I did not transcribe it. Several iron staunchions were still standing on the verge of this bald spot; but a bridge which crosses a chasm to a projecting point of the rock, had been destroyed by fire.

The atmosphere was clear, and the eye took in a horizon of seventy miles. The bright, blue, boundless ocean rivalled the sky in color, and its expanse was dotted by a half-dozen ships, approaching the harbor under a cloud of canvass, and seemingly no bigger than their boats. Cape Frio, sixty miles distant, was distinctly visible, and the white thread of sand beach, stretching between it and the bay. The Sugar Loaf seemed a mere mole hill below us. The alleys of the Botanic Garden showed like pencil lines, and the houses along the lagoon, all of which were immediately beneath our feet, were comparable to toys. The Corcovado presents a perpendicular face towards the sea, of more than two thousand feet in height.

"Stand still—how fearful
And dizzy 'tis to cast one's eyes so low!
The crows and choughs, that wing the midway air,
Show scarce so gross as beetles.

* * * *
* * * *

The fishermen that walk upon the beach,
Appear like mice; and yon tall anchoring bark,
Diminished to her cock; her cock, a buoy

Almost too small for sight. The murmuring surge
That on th' uncumbered idle pebbles chafes,
Cannot be heard so high. I'll look no more,
Lest my brain turn, and the deficient sight
Topple down headlong!"

A story was related of a young French lady, who, having been deserted by her lover, cast herself from this dizzy height. Her body was never found; it remained, it was supposed, on some inaccessible crag a prey to vultures.

We gazed an hour, and descended to the Pavilion; and thence to the city.

All the events of that delightful day recurred to my memory as I gazed upon the lofty peak from the veranda. Of most of those who formed the pic-nic party I have now no trace; but I know that several of the then lovely maidens are at present fair matrons, and that the most beautiful and the youngest of the party sleeps in an early grave. Long will her merry laugh ring on memory's ear, and the bright glance of her eye be present to the recollection of those who are still left to follow her to the world of the happy and the good.

I was aroused from a sort of reverie by the arrival of other guests, among whom were several who had long been residents, and were therefore supposed to be well informed on Brazilian affairs.

Speaking of Brazilian commerce, a gentleman stated that the number of vessels under the American flag, trading with Brazil, was more than double that of any other nation; and to prove the assertion, brought forward a report of the export trade for the year 1845, from which the following general table was deduced.

	No. of Vessels.	*No. of Tons.*	*Av. Tonnage.*
English,	88	22,896	260
American,	174	58,816	337
Austrian,	17	5,829	341
Belgian,	15	5,015	334
Bremen,	13	3,631	209
Danish,	40	11,831	295
Dutch,	1	352	353
French,	26	9,421	362
Hamburg,	24	7,771	323
Hanoverian,	1	195	195
National, (Brazil,)	47	8,537	181
Neapolitan,	7	2,313	330
Norway,	3	799	299
Oldenberg,	3	620	206
Portuguese,	42	11,585	275
Prussian,	2	1,266	452
Russian,	4	1,311	357
Sardinian,	26	4,679	179
Spanish,	7	1,627	232
Swedish,	43	15,373	357
Total,	583	173,867	

In the year 1845, there was imported into Brazil from the United States, flour valued at $1,083,318, and manufactured cottons, valued at $830.926; the total imports were valued at $2,837,950. For the same period the value of coffee exported from Brazil to the United States, was $4,401,269; sugar $293,060; hides and other articles $646,001: the aggregate value of exports to the United States is stated at $6,084,599.

Including the value of the tonnage engaged in the trade of Brazil with the United States, the capital employed in this commerce is probably equal to ten millions of dollars.

The markets of Brazil take yearly about three millions of dollars worth of property produced by the farmers and manufacturers of the United States, an interest which extends from the seaboard to the far west, yielding more or less advantage to citizens of every vocation. The preservation and protection of this commerce is important to the whole country.

It was remarked by a merchant present, that the navy had been useful in establishing and increasing the value of the American trade with Brazil, because its existence gave confidence that commercial enterprizes would be protected by the strong arm of the government in case of attack; and the simple presence of our ships of war served to protect our merchants from aggression and many petty annoyances, to which they would be exposed, if we were without a naval force.

Another rejoined: "however true that may have been in times past for the world generally, and possibly to a very limited extent at present in some parts of the world, the position is not true now. The value of American commerce with Great Britain, with the north and the south of Europe, is far greater than of that with Brazil; but no one imagines that the presence of our ships of war in the British Channel, in the Baltic, or on the coasts of France, is requisite for the protection of that commerce. A naval force is not necessary to coerce civilized nations to treat foreign merchants and their ships with justice and propriety. The governments of civilized countries require no show of power to induce them to observe the provisions of commercial treaties and laws. The people of the United States would not quietly submit to the presence, in our ports, of the men-of-war of all nations with which they trade, if their avowed object was to overawe us into an observance of the rules of fair dealing. A suspicion of our national honesty in trade would not be tolerated for a moment; and the expression of such a suspicion, by the constant presence of a squadron of any nation on our coasts, would be received with loud tones of indignation. It is not just to conjecture that any civilized government, like that of Brazil, would be influenced in its conduct towards the merchants of the United States by the

continuous presence of our men of war—that without their presence, in other words, the commerce of the United State with Brazil would diminish. Fear is not the dominant motive of the actions of civilized and intelligent people. Acquisitiveness exerts much more power. The people of Brazil are not insensible to the advantages they derive from their commerce with the United States; and even in the absence of treaties, they would perceive their interests in placing the merchants of the United States on a footing with those of the most favored nation. It is not to be presumed that they, more than other people, are prone to quarrel with their customers; they do not require our men-of-war to compel them to perceive the advantage of selling four or five million dollars worth of coffee every year, which, if Americans were driven from their ports by unkind or unjust treatment, would remain unsold, and the effect would quickly be seen in a depreciation in the value of coffee-estates and of slaves. There have been, and there are still small annoyances to traders, which are attributable to certain rules embodied in the details, or forms prescribed for the despatch of business in the custom-house, but the presence of men-of-war does not avail to induce a change. A judicious diplomatic agent would effect more in the course of a month in this respect, than the presence of a naval force for twenty years."

"I trust the gentlemen of the navy present," he continued, "will not misconstrue my sentiments. While I contend that the presence of ships of war is not necessary to protect our commerce in civilized countries;—meaning of course countries whose governments carry on war;—I am not insensible to the great importance of a well organized naval establishment to the strength and respectability of a government. Such an establishment is essential, in spite of all that has been said by the most erudite members of the various Peace Societies, in different parts of the world,—unless we choose the exclusive policy of the Japanese, and abandon intercourse with foreign nations. But that policy will never be adopted. The influence of commerce in ameliorating the condition of mankind, by diffusing every where knowledge of the arts, of science and of religion is fully recognized; and as long as commerce is pursued, or at any rate, until all the people of the earth reach that degree of civilization which will render resort to war unnecessary to decide differences of opinion, or questions of right, military establishments both by land and sea must be maintained by nations. Strength is always respectable; to secure this kind of respectability, it is necessary to demonstrate from time to time, that strength exists; and this may be done without proceeding to extremities. When even a good natured animal exposes his teeth, men who see them are generally satisfied that he has capacity to bite, without any further demonstration, and prudently avoid provoking him to any further exhibition of his power to protect himself, or to assail others. As long as the eagle possesses talons and a strong beak, he will not be molested in his flight by hawks and buzzards; but, deprived of these organs, the noble bird might be exposed to aggression, and, being unused to avoid assailants, fall a prey, even to the "mousing owl." He requires something more than the plumage of his wings, and a far-reaching eye to maintain his position among the feathered tribes; we must leave him the instruments by which he can show his courage and his strength, or expose him to insult without power to resent it.

"A commercial nation without a navy would be as little respected, as our national bird deprived of all powers except those of flight. When we disband the navy, we must at the same time prepare to submit to encroachments on our rights, by even the weakest of foreign nations possessed of naval power. Our policy is to maintain a navy which should be in every respect efficient, without comparing its cost with that of peaceful institutions of any kind. It is unwise to reckon "what glory costs the nation," until it is determined what a nation is worth without glory, for it must be evident to all who seriously consider the subject that a nation's glory is the common soul, the spirit of the body politic. A country indifferent to national glory, to national reputation, is no better than a man insensible to honor and indifferent to the reputation he holds in a community. Our flag, 'the star spangled banner,' is not a meaningless arrangement of colored bunting contrived to please the eye, like the arabesques of an eastern screen. It is a symbolic embodiment of liberty, and on its broad folds are emblazoned, in characters of electric light, a record of the virtues, and prowess of the whole people, which imparts increased strength to the arm, and courage to the heart of every true American who beholds it. That banner is hailed with pleasure and pride by every patriot, because it is at once a sign of individual protection and national glory. When national glory has departed, the nation will need no banner; all will be gone. Then, narrow indeed, must be the views of the statesman who can compare the value of a nation's glory with gold; to estimate it at a money value, is a first step towards rendering virtue, intelligence and power secondary to mere wealth.

"Let us suppose that the navy has cost five millions a year during the past half century, or 250,000,000 of dollars; and that, had there been no navy, this sum would be at the present time

in the coffers of the government. Is there an American alive mean enough to prefer this kind and degree of national wealth, to the respect the nation has won through the naval prowess of Hull, Decatur, Stewart, Bainbridge, Perry, McDonough and others? There is not a man, worthy of the name, who would willingly exchange that portion of national glory achieved in times past by our little navy, for the privilege of boasting that the treasury of the nation contained hundreds of idle millions.

"But while I appreciate the value of a navy, I am far from believing that its existence is necessarily involved in wasteful or extravagant expenditure. A judicious economy may be carried into the navy, as well as in every other department of the government;—and I may add, I do not know that a dollar is wrongly expended in this branch of the public service. Yet, it is not clear, that the navy is as efficient and useful as it might be made in times of peace. If it can be employed only to sail along the coasts of civilized countries with which we trade, the institution is truly of little value. It is a sinecure to protect that which requires no protection.

"The officers and vessels of the navy would find employment more valuable to commerce in seeking out new markets for the productions of our soil and machinery; in ascertaining and making known the limits of coasts and shoals, and in being sure vehicles of correspondence and intelligence between distant points where postal arrangements do not exist. Instead of keeping their days of sailing secret, our ships of war should depart on stated days, as punctually as mail boats; and wherever they can, without interfering with the postal regulations of countries, carry a mail from port to port within the limits of their cruising. Our public ships would thus serve our interests to a much greater extent than by lounging idly in port for months together, as they were known to do in past times, until, as it was said, they were in danger of grounding on the beef bones thrown overboard by their crews."

"You have made quite a speech," rejoined a gentleman; "but I think you confound the system of employing the navy, directed at Washington, with the navy itself, and hold it responsible on points which are above its control. While admitting the general usefulness and importance of the navy, you deny its special utility to our commerce in Brazil, on the ground that this nation should be treated with as much confidence as the most civilized countries on the earth. I fear the civilization here will not yet compare favorably with that of Europe; and until such comparison is satisfactory, I for one would regret not to see ships of war in the harbor of Rio-de-Janeiro. Affairs are very tranquil now; but no one can guarantee their stability, and in the event of revolution, in the event of insurrection of the blacks, Americans here, in the absence of our squadron, would have no security for their lives or property; no place of refuge. It is wise to maintain a naval force here for this reason alone, if for no other. England and France believe it to be necessary to keep squadrons constantly cruising on this coast; the reasons which influence the governments of those countries doubtlessly influence that of the United States in this matter. The presence of ships of war have unquestionably tended to diminish the African slave trade with Brazil; and to bring many of the wise and humane men of the empire to think seriously of its impropriety. Moreover, there is no way so effectual to exhibit our war ability, and make known abroad the resources of the country, as that of the palpable evidence conveyed in a noble frigate, or a ship of the line. Ignorant, weak and poor countries do not, cannot manufacture such things. I admit that in time of peace our public vessels and officers might be profitably employed in surveying coasts and shoals, and in conveying mails at stated periods; but the officers, willing as they are to serve the country, cannot enter upon such duties without authority. If the neglect of these points be a fault, it is not chargeable on the navy, but on the power which controls it. The internal organization of the navy is antiquated and defective; and there may be many practices in it conflicting with the statutes, and contrary to the spirit of republican institutions and government, but the navy is not alone to be answerable for this condition. Every word of censure cast upon the navy as it is, applies forcibly, if not deservedly, to legislators and the administration of affairs at Washington. Many of the evils at present complained of in the naval service, may be traced into the administration of the Navy Department; and if the whole subject were carefully analysed, on the broad principles of truth, (commonly called philosophy,) it would be found the navy, as a body, is not deserving of all the censure applied to it in different quarters. That it contains some inefficient, and exceptional officers, the true friends of the navy do not deny; but considering the frailties, follies and conceits of humanity, and the temptations to which they are frequently exposed, it is questionable whether any community of men, of equal numbers and pretensions contains fewer of doubted ability or morality. There are differences of opinion among even the most intelligent; and on some points these differences may be warmly, and even injudiciously debated, and possibly to the extent of interfering with the discharge of official duty.

But these differences can be set at rest by decisions of the national legislature, and a firm and unflinching administration of law by the Executive. The differences have grown out of defective organization, which has often and long been a subject of discussion; and of course, when this organization is reformed, discussion of it will cease, but not till then. There must be a law: because it has become of late years too frequent to discuss the legality of authority before respecting it, and thus it is that certain orders of the Executive are disobeyed, or treated contemptuously, by officers of high position and higher pretension. But this may be an offspring of that transition condition through which the navy has been slowly passing for several years; and all is tending to a practical exhibition of the doctrine that there can be but one social grade of intelligent gentlemen, divide them into as many official grades as you may. In a word, equality of social rights will be recognized in the navy as it is in civil life, in which superior intelligence and conduct confer consideration without regard to vocation. When off duty, the commodore and passed-midshipmen are on the same social level, and possess the same social rights.

"Come, gentlemen," interrupted our host, "permit me to lead you to a more agreeable subject of discussion; dinner is announced."

We soon forgot naval matters, under the influence of good cheer, and in due season took leave of our excellent host, to return to our several vocations.

CHAPTER XII.

Rio de Janeiro; Animal degeneracy; Unity of the Human Race; Physiology useful to Political Economists; Botanic Garden; Cultivation of Tea; Lagōa de Freitas; Funeral Ceremonies; Consumption of Wax; Undertakers; Number of Churches; Celibacy of Priests; Ceremony on a Corpus Christi Day; A Brazilian View of the United States; Santa Priscilliana; St. Sebastian, and Sebastianists; Military Ceremony in the Navy; Cocked Hats.

Rio de Janeiro has an air of antiquity; its streets, which cross at right angles, are narrow; very few of the houses are more than two stories high. The walls are generally white, and the roofs are of red tiles; but foreigners remark that the uniformity is broken by a practice of variegating the fronts of shops, and even of dwellings, in various colors. The churches are numerous; some of them are impressive, (I will not say imposing, though they may be,) both inside and out. Three fifths of the street population is negro, and perhaps an additional fifth is mulatto. The Anglo-Saxon on landing, is struck with the small stature, and the comparatively feeble physical constitution of the men; even the slaves do not appear to be generally very athletic. One Anglo-Saxon is equal, seemingly, in muscular power, to two of Brazilian growth: appearances may deceive, but I think experiment would prove this estimate to be correct.

I have no hesitation in expressing a notion that there is a declension of animal power in the varieties of the human race, which have immigrated to Brazil, and probably, also a commensurate declension of mental power; and that this declension is due to habitual departure from obedience to physiological laws, as well as to influence of climate. Europeans bring with them, and continue their habits of diet and drink, which are not adapted to produce the highest condition of animal life under an elevated temperature; and being always urged beyond their capability, the organs are impaired; their functions come to be imperfectly performed, and the result is a degeneration in the powers of the individual. The animal imperfections thus induced, are transmitted to offspring; and the vices of organizations are increased, generation after generation. Promiscuous marriages of negroes with whites, mulattoes, and the resulting castes of many degrees, contribute to lessen both the physical and mental powers. The progeny of a Caucassian and negro, may be superior to the latter, but is never equal to the first; the children resulting from such an amalgamation, are hybrids, and are inferior, as animals, to the pure offspring of either. For such reasons, the social laws or customs which sanction an amalgamation of the various races and castes of men, are in conflict with animal improvement, and with the highest development of the human mind and body. In vain may we look amidst the population of Brazil for preëminently great soldiers, statesmen or philosophers, until physiological law is understood and observed by society, at least in this particular, for many years to come. The controlling minds of the state will be found among white immigrants and their immediate and unmixed descendants; the mixed or hybrid castes will ever be inferiors in natural ability, and consequently in acquired powers. Franklins and Newtons; Fultons and Whitneys; Howards and Washingtons, can never arise from hybrid or mongrel parentage; they can only descend from the pure, unmixed blood of one species. Whether we regard the whole human family as the issue of a single pair, and therefore consisting of no more than one species (using the term in a strictly systematic sense) or not, it is difficult not to perceive distinc-

tive differences in the several races; differences in the anatomical structure and form, even of the bones themselves, which are not traced, even if they be traceable, to the influence of diet, of climate and habit of life. No system of training, it is believed, will enable a Caucassian stock, to produce a negro variety, or species; nor am I aware of any ascertained fact which countenances a suspicion, that a negro pair could be possibly cultivated into producing a Caucassian stock. The negro and white are specifically different; there are varieties of both species. The Anglo-Saxons, the Celts, &c., are varieties of the Caucassian species; and the Abyssinian, the natives of New Guinea, the Hottentot, &c., are instances of the negro species. The cross of varieties of the same species, it is believed by practical agriculturists, often leads to a transmissible improvement in those qualities for which animals are most valued; but a cross between species produces degenerate hybrids, which, among inferior animals, are rarely prolific. It has been said that the duration of life, the strength of muscle, capability to resist morbid influences, are less in mulatto hybrids, on an average, than in the white or negro species. If this be correct, no additional evidence is necessary to demonstrate the deterioration of *animalité* consequent upon such conjunction of species.

If the protection and preservation of those qualities of body and mind upon which the strength, intelligence, health and happiness of a people depend, pertain to political government, then political economists and legislators should carefully study physiology, that is, the phenomena and laws of organic life. The statutes which regulate legitimacy, should be devised with a view to discourage all marriages which can influence injuriously the development of the race. Unions which may be sources of hybridity in any degree whatever, should be discountenanced; for this reason, connubial relations between the white and black species should have no legal existence under any political system interested in the perfection of the Caucassian race. It will be advantageous to all not to mingle the species: "J'aime qu'un Russe soit Russe."

May 8th. About 10 o'clock, A. M., we entered a carriage drawn by four mules. The two leaders were managed by a postillion in livery who rode one of them; the other two were driven by a negro mounted on the box. We rattled through the streets, the animals being urged incessantly by whip and spur, until we reached a barrier where a toll of a half "patac," equal to about eight cents, was paid. It seemed to be within the city. We passed round the beautiful bay of Botofogo, and on a road lined by pretty villas, more like the creations of fairy land than real structures, and alighted at the Botanical Garden, which is about six miles from the landing in the city. A negro boy acted as cicerone. Two hours were agreeably spent in admiring the trees and flowers and arbors. The sacred lotus of India, floated in the ponds; we rested in the shade of the bread-fruit tree of Tahiti, and the tall bamboo of the East. Here are camphor, cinnamon, and cardamom trees; the sago palm with it salmon-colored fruit; the tea-plant of China; creepers and flowers of every hue, all beautifully arranged, and all in excellent condition. The spot is poetically beautiful, and in the language of a messmate, "perfectly Lalla-Rookhish" in every respect. To the southward, the garden looks out upon the ocean; and the Corcovado, rising almost perpendicularly to the northward, watches over it.

"O Jardim Botanico," was founded in 1817, by Dom João VI., say the histories; but the spot was devoted to the cultivation of exotics, long prior to that date. It appears that about the year 1800, the colonial government of Brazil, set apart about fifty acres in the parish called Lagôa de Freitas, to receive a variety of plants brought from the Isle of France in a transport ship, on which were a number of Portuguese convicts from the East Indies, sentenced to banishment in this then remote country. Those plants, among which were the clove, cinnamon, camphor and nutmeg trees, were the commencement of the present collection. The tea plants were imported about the year 1810 or 1812, and subsequently some natives of China, were employed in their cultivation for several years. The last of those Celestials disappeared from Rio de Janeiro in 1829.

The Botanic Garden is not exactly what the name imports. It is not cultivated with a view to the diffusion of a knowledge of botany, but rather to acclimate useful plants, and spread their seeds through the empire. Some success has attended the undertaking; for tea of Brazilian growth now supplies a very considerable portion of the demand for the article, among the common classes. There is no direct trade between Brazil and the East; and all the tea of Chinese growth to be found in the market, reaches Rio by way of the United States and Europe.

An idea of the extent of the tea culture, may be gathered from a memoir on the subject by Antonio Felisberto Nogueira, a proprietor of Jaguary, who has a tea plantation of 100,000 plants; with 23 hands, young and old, he has obtained 3,200 pounds. On an average, each laborer collects daily, for one hundred days, eight pounds of leaves, which yield two pounds of dry tea; and during the second harvest, four pounds daily, for forty days: so that each laborer

in the course of the year, collects 240 pounds of tea, worth at Rio de Janeiro, about 1,600 reis, or about fifty to sixty cents the pound. The cost of boxing, packing, transportation and commissions, is to be deducted.

This branch of agriculture is due, exclusively, to the existence of the Botanic Garden, called of Lagôa de Roderigo de Frietas. It is very near a pretty sheet of water thus named, which is separated from the ocean by a bank of sand, which is sometimes overflowed. Forty slaves, children and adults included, are employed in the garden. Beyond the support of these, the expense of the institution is very small. The Imperial Government gives it necessary attention, and is doubtless extending its usefulness to every part of the empire.*

Seeds or cuttings are freely given to all who may apply for them; fees of admission are not demanded.

On returning, the Lagôa de Freitas excited attention; but the beautiful round and deep bay of Botofogo, which is said to be a league to the southeast of the city, spreading out a smooth sheet of water, separated from the sea by the Sugar Loaf and other granitic rocks, drew forth exclamations of admiration from my companions. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a more lovely looking bay in nature; its beauty is enhanced by the village or town of Botafogo, consisting of elegant villas and neat dwellings arranged along the circling shore of the bay, which is ornamented by a fine road. All these improvements have been made since the year 1820, when it was scarcely more than a fishermen's village.

As we drew nearer to the city, we noticed that the grocer's shops, were marked by sides of bacon hanging on the front, and festoons of onions suspended over the doors. In almost every direction, the eye encountered painted door-posts, variegated walls and tile roofs, shaped like the drawings seen on old-fashioned blue china. In the streets were passing water-carriers, marching erect and steadily under a half barrel of water nicely poised on the head; pedlars and pack-mules, carts and slaves moving in opposite directions, which, under a blazing noonday sun, formed a picture strikingly in contrast with street scenes in our own northern, Atlantic cities.

We reached our hotel about 3 P. M., and dined.

In the afternoon we strolled to the Navy Yard, at the extreme end of Rua Dereita. At the gate was a negro sentinel, bearing a musket on one shoulder in a slovenly, don't-care kind of manner; but he was neither a soldier nor a marine, for he wore the duck frock and trowsers of a naval seaman.

We wandered first through one street and then another noting whatever was different from what we are accustomed to see at home. In the square in front of the church of San Francisco de Paula, our attention rested on a hearse, to which several negroes in gaudy liveries, covered almost in tinsel, were attaching three pairs of white mules, whose heads were bedecked with black plumes. The body of the hearse was scarlet, and each corner was ornamented by a gilded seraphim. This was shaded by a roof supported on white twisted columns, three feet high; around which were twined wreaths and garlands of roses. Several funeral attendants, arrayed in blue cloth coats with white breasts and facings, and each armed with a wax candle six feet long, were preparing and gathering around the vehicle which, we learned from a bystander, was to convey the body of a child to the tomb. The church bells were ringing, and numbers of people were entering the temple. We mingled in the crowd.

A tall catafalco, gaudily decked in gilded arabesques, occupied the centre of the church, and upon it, reposed the dead body of a man in a black suit, the head being hidden under a white cloth. This corpse was in a shallow box, covered in black cloth, trimmed with gold lace an inch wide; the cover, when closed, formed a pent-roof, but it was now open. A company of priests stood round, chanting the services for the deceased, and swinging smoking censers of frankincense, and from time to time sprinkling holy-water. When the chant ended, the corpse-box was closed and borne to the place of temporary interments, adjoining the side of the church, followed by a procession of priests and laymen in black cloaks, each bearing a lighted wax candle about six feet long.

The cemetery consists of a square, each side of which is about a hundred feet in length. A roof about fifteen feet wide runs around the sides, the centre being open to the sky. The walls are about fifteen feet high, and are made up of tiers of vaults, each about two feet square, penetrating six or seven feet into the structure. These vaults or tombs, are occupied from one to two years, or until decomposition has removed all but the bones, which, at the end of that time, are removed and burned, and the ashes are collected and inurned.

A scaffold was arranged close to the wall and opposite to the open mouth of a vault prepared for the interment. The body was set down and a short chant was performed; then it was raised upon the scaffold, and another chant succeeded. Now two attendants in long black costume and

* Annuario Politico do Brazil.

white cravats, removed the corpse from the box, and placed it in the vault, carefully adjusting the head in a hollow prepared to receive it. The corpse-box, or temporary coffin, which is rented for the occasion, was removed, and each one of the laymen in black cloaks, took up a grocer's scoop full of powdered quick-lime, ascended the scaffold and sprinkled it over the body, and the vault was left to be closed by the mason.

A corpse was lying in state before a temporary altar at the opposite side of the cemetery. Funeral services were performed, and it, in like manner, was consigned to a vault.

A sudden peal of bells induced me and my companion to return into the church, where we found many gentlemen assembled, and forming in two ranks with a broad space between, extending from the principal entrance to the main altar. Each one bore a long wax candle. We stood in the rear, but on being observed, a candle was placed in our hands, in a very polite manner, and we fell into line. By this time, the choir, or orchestra above, was seen to be filled with musicians. At least a hundred and fifty candles were burning in the hands of those who were assisting at the ceremony, besides those on the several altars and around a catafalcal structure, nearer to the main altar than that from which the dead man has been just removed to the decomposing vault. Presently, six persons bearing a bier or corpse-box covered with bouquets and wreaths of flowers, came from the scarlet hearse, seen in the street through the open door of the church, and proceeded slowly between the rows of mourners, up to the catafalco, upon which they deposited it. At the moment the corpse bearers entered the church, there was a gush of most delightful music from the choir, in which a full instrumental orchestra and an operatic troupe were assembled. The music was from the opera of La Donna del'Lago, and executed in a most exquisite style. When the overture was concluded, a procession of priests entered from the cemetery and crossed the church, chanting as they walked from the recent interments. Presently they returned, arrayed in a more costly ecclesiastic uniform, and arranged themselves around the catafalco, upon which the remains of the child had been placed. At its head an image of the glory or host glittered more brightly than the one displayed in the ceremony which consigned the adult body to its vault.

A short chant by the priests was succeeded by music from the choir, both vocal and instrumental. We distinguished amidst the sweet sounds permanently but unnaturally altered male voices: and sweet were the tones of violins, viols, horns, tromboons and trumpets, but richer far, was a flute solo, with occasional accompaniments. Then come a short priestly chant, followed by a chorus which was enchanting. When the ceremony was concluded, and the lights extinguished, the sun had set; the remains of the child were left to rest before the altar during the night. We were thanked for our assistance, and departed for the ship.

How strange to us was the ceremony we had just witnessed, perhaps because we did not comprehend all its meanings. There was nothing sad or solemn; it was elevating, exciting and calculated to remind one more of the mimic show of a theatre than of the future abode of departed souls. Yet it is a beautiful manifestation of parental affection for a lost child—or possibly it may be found on close scrutiny, to be vanity—when we remember the prevailing belief that the souls of infants ascend directly to heaven, and there at once become pure and spotless angels, imbued with power to intercede in behalf of the parents they have left on earth. When infants die, it is customary for friends of the bereaved parents to pay them visits, not of condolence, but of congratulation; a custom which may naturally spring from an unlimited faith in the happy change death brings to the innocent soul of a child.

Whether the future bliss of the child's soul, or the angelic power of intercession for parents left behind is in any degree influenced, according to the opinion on the subject entertained by the Roman Catholics of Brazil, by the style and expense of the obsequies, is a question I am not prepared to discuss or answer. But I cannot conjecture even, that thinking and intelligent people believe that the souls of pauper infants are less pure for lack of funeral pomp. Such a notion involves an idea that poverty and penury in this world follow us into the next, and we may fail to occupy a place we merit in heaven, for want of means to fee priests and pay for prayers, candles and music, while in this earthly condition. Yet it is manifest, there is a belief in the efficacy of high priced prayers; we are taught by what we see, that the poorest men strive to bestow something on priests to supplicate for the souls of their departed friends, and the rich often bequeath large sums to the clergy to secure a speedy transit through purgatory. Experience teaches the living that priests, as a general rule at least, do not feel it incumbent upon them to labor zealously for the dead without an adequate remuneration to themselves, or to the church. Roman Catholic obsequies in Brazil, if an opinion may be formed from what we have just witnessed, must be profitable to the clergy; for it is not probable that the small salaries of priests would permit them to expend such quantities of wax lights without a pecuniary return. It is certain the obsequies of the poor are

dimly illuminated. The importation of wax into Rio for the year 1845. was 601,393 lbs., one-third of which was from the United States; and 480,000 lbs., of candles, one-third of which were of spermaceti. This statement is accurate enough to show that the consumption of wax and of candles, must be very large; for this supply is in addition to the home production which is considerable. The city contains twenty-eight manufactories of candles—Fabricas de Vélas.

The attention given to funeral pomp and religious ceremonials, may be inferred from the number who seek profit in them. The city directory records the names of sixteen undertakers —Armadores de Enterros; and of two whose vocation is to hire splendid vestments, with or without jewels, for angels used in processions—Armadores de Anjos para Procissões: their vocation is to dress and decorate the effigies of angels and saints which are constantly paraded in religious processions and ceremonies. I did not ascertain whether these people change the ancient fashions observed by angels in their costume; or like their fellow-craftsmen of England, change the patterns of sorrow's tokens displayed about the dead. Of late years, the fashion in coffins and coffin ornaments, has become a study of some importance.

It has been argued by a Romish priest, very plausibly too, that there is utility in funeral pomp. According to my recollection, for it was introduced in a funeral sermon, his argument was that the principles of justice recognized on earth among men, constituted our only criterion for appreciating the justice of heaven. We know that all men are not equally good, or equally bad; there are degrees and gradations in virtue and in vice, and it is revolting to our ideas of justice to suppose that one and the same punishment awaits all offenders, whether guilty of great crimes or trifling indiscretions. It needs no argument to show (he would say) that men die who are not good enough for heaven, but who are nevertheless too good for hell. For such souls, an intermediate place is provided, from which, through intercession of the Saviour, they may be transferred to the realms of bliss. This intercession can be obtained through the supplications of the ministers of the religion; and it is a beautiful feature in the Roman Catholic church, that she never forsakes her children; even after death she watches over them, and exerts herself in their behalf. Very few die, whose graves are not watered by the tears of affectionate friends and relatives; and it is almost always in their power to influence the action of the church, and through her instrumentality, to abridge the sojourn of a departed spirit in purgatory.

The inference from this kind of argument is that the more sumptuous and costly the ceremony, the more earnest the supplication, the shorter will be the duration of purgatorial probation, all things being equal. It is not until purgatory has been passed, that the rich and the poor become equal; and, admitting this theory, is it not possible, nay probable, that the souls of the abject poor, of those who have perished in times of a common famine for instance, languish in purgatory hundreds of years, because the friends who survived them were too poor to pay the cost of masses, just as poor men, though innocent of crime, have languished in jails because they and their friends had not money enough to constitute bail, or to fee lawyers to solicit their enlargement. This theory of purgatory places Romish priests in the light of attorneys on earth, qualified to plead causes before the court of Heaven; and unlucky indeed is the soul that departs without leaving means enough behind to retain one of them in his case.

The city of Rio contains forty-seven Roman Catholic churches, besides one British Episcopal and one German church. The British church was founded in the year 1820, and the German in 1837.

The ceremonies of religion seem to be carefully observed. Religious shows and exhibitions met by foreigners in the streets in honor of church festivals, may be regarded as satisfactory proofs that the people profess to be Roman Catholic Christians. Whether they are better or worse than the inhabitants of other Christian countries, Protestant or Catholic, is not a question to be entertained by a passing stranger, who might be led into error by relying upon prejudiced observations of others. It is very certain that the Anglo-Saxon protestants resident here, testify against the priests, who, it is said, violate their vows of chastity, but still so far respect appearances as to require their illegitimate children to regard them as uncles. A better knowledge of physiology will in time show the propriety of abrogating the law of the church which requires its priests to lead a life of celibacy: the laws of nature cannot be rendered inoperative by human statutes, whether established by church or state governments.

As a sample of street manifestation of religion, I beg leave to transcribe a passage from notes made on a former visit, because they are as appropriate now as they were then.

I went on shore and found the praça filled with soldiers, priests and people, collected together to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi. Along each side of the Rua Dereita, from the imperial chapels, stood a file of militia, neatly dressed in blue jackets with green velvet collars and yellow trimmings; greenfeather pompoons, some having

rings of gold bullion upon them, were stuck in their bell-crowned military caps, which, with white pantaloons and belts, gave them the appearance of regular troops. The complexions of their faces were almost as various as the colors of their uniforms. They "stood at ease." looking up and down the street, lazily expecting the procession from the church. The body of troops before us is composed of shop-keepers and mechanics, who were enrolled to serve as a protection against negro insurrections. The balconies and verandas on the "Rua Dereita," as well as those on the streets through which the procession was to pass, were hung with banners of silk and satin of every color, embroidered in gold or silk; and the verandas were filled with ladies and children, waiting to view the coming pageant. The street was crowded with a moving mob, composed of all tribes, among which were circulating negroes, bearing on their heads trays of various *bonbons* and trifles, the names of which were called aloud in most unpleasantly nasal tones.

About midday the *Te Deum* was ended. The bells rang rapidly and irregularly; great guns and musketry were fired, and an incredible quantity of squibs and rockets were set off in every direction, in spite of the incongruity of burning fireworks and candles in the broad glare of a tropical day, for which I could learn no rationale. All this hub-bub was the signal for the procession to move from the church. Those stationed along the street, lighted the tall candles in their hands. First issued forth, moving with gravity, for they were all stout, fat fellows, a number of clergymen, bearing standards adorned with tinsel and filagree. Then came a living personation of St. George, the defender of the faith, on horseback, in the array of an ancient knight, vizor down, lance resting on toe, followed by an effigy on horseback, representing a trusty squire in gilt armour, bearing his knight's shield; then came a pursuivant in the knight's livery, but St. George was unaccompanied by either dragon or maid. Next eleven horses under beautiful trappings, led by servants in the livery of the imperial household; the back cloths had on the depending corners and on the part covering the saddle, large silver plates, impressed with the imperial coat of arms. Then came a band of music followed by priests and censers; then the Host, beneath a canopy of white satin, deeply embroidered in gold, followed closely by the imperial household and the body guard of the emperor, armed with glittering pole-axes. The first Regent, Francisco de Lima e Silva, led the young emperor by the left hand in the middle of the street. His imperial majesty, then thirteen years old, wore a general's uniform of green, having too brilliant gold epaulets on his shoulders; a blue sash, a *crachat* or star on his breast, and a cambric cape thrown over all. His hair, which is light, was cut close, and, being bareheaded, a phrenologist might have pronounced at a glance, his perceptive and intellectual faculties to be well developed, and that the basilar portion of the brain was in good proportion. The members of the imperial household were dressed much after the same fashion, and all bore candles in their hands, not excepting even his imperial majesty. The procession was closed by priests, infantry and cavalry. As the Host passed them, the soldiers knelt upon the left knee, in acknowledgment of the presence of the Deity. The sight was impressive.

I viewed this procession from a veranda in the company of an intelligent gentleman who had visited the United States in a diplomatic capacity. I remarked that such shows serve to amuse the vulgar, without exerting much influence favorable to the purity of religious feeling. He replied, "that may be true; but if the people desire them, why should they not be indulged in such innocent amusements? People are naturally fond of display, and men are better servants of the public in embroidered coats, and when wearing decorations of honorable distinction, than in plain clothes. The republican notions of the present day are ultra. Your first Congress was composed of men who dressed and conducted themselves like gentlemen—like men who had proper respect for themselves, and who were unwilling to be confounded with the *profanum vulgus*, as seems to be the case now in a number of instances. There were no Davy Crocketts in those days, holding seats in your House of Representatives. In those days no man could be found to usurp as much authority as General Jackson did in removing the deposits from the bank of the United States, and in several other instances I might name. You pride yourselves on your republican government and your democracy; but the government of Brazil is essentially as free and republican as that of the United States, and has not the odious inconvenience of democracy and its too frequent elections. Our president, or as he is here termed, emperor, has not half the power of the president of the United States, and very much less patronage. He bestows orders of distinction, but they cost nothing, and he can do nothing without the consent of the Senate; and being elected for life, the country is free from those political parties, which, to judge from the public journals, distract the policy of the United States. Our emperor is nothing more than a state seal, used to give authority to public documents, and is, *de facto*, destitute of all power."

Among the religious curiosities of the capital of Brazil, is an authentic relique of Santa Pris-

cilliana, a virgin martyr, which was presented by Pope Gregory XVI. to Doctor Manœl Joaquim de Miranda Rego, the rector of the parish of Santa Anna, during his visit to Rome. They were conveyed on the 10th of May, 1846, with great pomp and ceremony, from the church of San Francisco Xavier da Prainha, in which they were deposited temporarily, to the church of Santa Anna, where they now repose. On the occasion, there was included in the procession a group of 196 girls, from eight to eleven years old, all dressed in white tunics reaching to the feet, and covered from the head to the knee with transparent white veils; a crown of roses encircled the head; they bore a candle in one hand and in the other a bouquet of natural flowers. They advanced singing, in infantile tones, to harmonious and pathetic music, "Vem ó esposa de Christo, recibe a corôa: Vem, ó minha querida, entra no meu jardim."—Come, oh bride of Christ, receive the crown: Come, my dear, enter in my garden.—Their performance was so effective that, it is said, the spectators shed tears of of devotion.

Santa Priscilliana, a Roman virgin, in the time when Julian, the apostate, emperor, persecuted the disciples of the Cross, was only sixteen years of age; she always accompanied her mother, Santa Priscilla, who devoted all her efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the martyrs during their imprisonment and tortures; and after their death, to collect their remains and place them in the tombs. Apprehended in these pious exercises and made prisoner, she confessed the Cross, and bore the most horrible pains of torture. The minister of the tyrant despairing to obtain anything from one of her heroic virtue ordered her neck to be transfixed with a sword; she fell dead on the plaza, to live eternally in heaven, and to be venerated on earth as a religious heroine.

The mortal remains of the holy virgin martyr Priscilliana, were found in a subterranean cemetery of Ciriaca, in the via Tiburtina whence they were brought by the cardinal Patricio, Vicar General of Rome, and presented as above stated, to Doctor Rego by the Pope Gregory XVI. In the catacomb, near the skeleton of the holy virgin, opposite to the head, was an earthen vessel, labelled with her name, containing her blood with sand as it was gathered up from the ground on the day of her martyrdom. This jar is enclosed in the glass case which contains the relique. The bones of this holy virgin are enveloped in a covering of wax, which represents her appearance at the age of sixteen; only the top of the head is uncovered, leaving the skull bone of the virgin saint exposed.*

*Annuario Politico do Brazil.

What virtues or power adhere to the bones of this poor murdered girl, the records do not state; but it is presumed there are not wanting statements enough to encourage a belief that petitions from sinners presented over these mortal remains, have been miraculously answered. Such reliques contribute to incite a pious fervor in the minds of credulous people, who probably regard martyrdom as proof positive of the truth of the creed of the martyr, although it is in fact merely a proof of a steadfast faith, and has no reference to the truth or falsehood of the doctrines upon which the sufferer heroically relied. There have been martyrs to the various creeds of heathen and other misbelievers, who have been regarded as unimpeachable witnesses of truth; but truth is not to be demonstrated by suffering pain, or by sacrificing life.

Denis, in his history of Brazil, tells us that the festival of St. Sebastian, which falls in January, is celebrated with great pomp, he being the patron saint of Rio de Janeiro. The city was usually illuminated for three successive nights. An effigy of the saint, crowned with a diadem of precious stones, was carried in procession to the Senate, with music and every demonstration of devotion. Gradually the custom fell into disuse; but an epidemic disease, which was attributed to neglect of the festival, so alarmed the people, that the procession was revived with increased splendors, and ordered to be continued for the future.

Denis asserts that there is a religious sect, callled Sebastianists, numbering in Portugal and in Brazil not less than three thousand persons, who faithfully anticipate the reappearance upon earth of St. Sebastian. Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, was distinguished for his religious as well as his warlike enthusiasm. About the year 1580, Muley Mahomet sought and obtained from Portugal aid to place him upon the throne of Morocco, to which he claimed to be rightfully entitled, though it was occupied by his uncle, Muley Moluc. Don Sebastian led an army of 13,000 men into Africa, where he was encountered by not less than 50,000 Moor-men under the command of Muley Moluc himself. The Portuguese force was entirely routed and Don Sebastian was killed, and both the disputants of the throne died, one on the field of battle and the other was drowned. This army was conducted into Africa under a pretext that by placing the Mussulman prince, Muley Mahomet, on his throne, the Christian king, Don Sebastian, would open the road to the conversion of the Moors. This pious feature of this undertaking, which some historians imply was really to afford the young and fiery monarch of Portugal an opportunity to display his military prowess, mainly

constituted the ground for elevating the unfortunate warrior to the position of a saint.

At one time it was asserted that the unfortunate Don Sebastian was not dead, but that he had escaped death and was wandering about Europe. Among other stories which were attributed to the Jesuits, was one which declared that God had rescued Don Sebastian from the midst of his enemies; that he had placed him on a desert island, and that a celestial messenger had transferred him to the care of a holy hermit. The conclusion was natural that under such circumstances he would live for centuries, and at the appointed time leave his island and resume the throne of his ancestors.

At a later period the Sebastianists believed in certain predictions of one known to them as the Black man of Japan—*Pretinho do Japão*. And then we have the vaticinations of an old woman, a religious devotee resident in a convent at Oporto; her dreams often signified the coming of the young king, and those persons who were noted benefactors of Portugal were in turn suspected to be Don Sebastian doing good *incognito*. In 1830 the son of the Infanta Dona Theresa, the eldest daughter of John VI. enjoyed this distinguished honor.

The Sebastianists have no particular place for assembling, and do not form, strictly speaking, an essentially distinct congregation. The common article of their faith is that Don Sebastian will certainly appear, and that they will certainly witness the happy event. They await his coming with as much confidence and simplicity as do the Jews of the present day the coming of the Messiah. It is said their number has increased, particularly in the province of Minas-Gereas. There they are characterised, like the quakers, and the Moravian brothers, by their industry, benevolence and simplicity. They are quite numerous in Rio de Janeiro.

The members of this sect might be described as a kind of Roman Catholic Millerites.

May 9th. The transition from religious ceremonies to the code of military civilities observed in the navy, results from a formal visit of inspection paid by the commander-in-chief of the United States squadron stationed on the coast of Brazil. The commodore informed the captain he would visit our ship this morning at eleven o'clock. Preparations were immediately made for the reception. The decks were made perfectly clean, and the senior lieutenant, who has within a few years past acquired, by a process of slow assumption, the title of "executive" officer, frequently visited all parts of the vessel, to be sure that every rope-yarn was in its appropriate place, and that every article which might be unseemly in the commodore's sight should be carefully concealed from view. The dignity and importance of the commodore were no doubt enhanced by this operation, in the estimation of Jack, who knows that the first-lieutenant does not often exhibit so much anxiety to make all things appear to advantage. This manifestation of solicitude exerts a beneficial influence on the subordination of the ship. The crew was ordered to be in clean mustering suits, and the officers in "full dress." The quarter-master of the watch kept his spy-glass very constantly directed towards the flag ship. Scarcely had the commodore's barge, distinguished by a triangular blue flag ornamented with white stars displayed on a staff in the bows, shoved off, before it was known that the great man was approaching. A boat rowed by fourteen oars, shaded in its whole length by a white awning, and steered by the coxswain, seated high at the extreme end or stern, rapidly drew near, and when within about one hundred yards of our ship the boatswain piped a long shrill note, and four side-boys passed out of our gangway, and took their stations at each side of the accommodation ladder, while two other side boys stood just within. There was the stillness of expectation, disturbed only by the pipe of the boatswain, and the rattle of oars as they were laid into the commodore's boat just before she touched the side-ladder. The marine guard was drawn up on the port left side of the quarter deck, and the officers were assembled on the other near the gangway, headed by the commander and first-lieutenant, to receive the commodore as he stepped on the deck. As he entered, cocked hats were raised from the heads of all; the marines presented arms; the drum rolled three times, and the boatswain piped. These sounds scarcely died, before the sound of a salute of great guns was heard: when the thirteenth and last was fired, and the introduction of the officers was over, the commodore and suite accompanied by our first-lieutenant and others, walked over the several decks of the ship. The crew was drawn up along the gun-deck, standing in two rows facing each other, with their backs to the guns. Each man touched the rim of his hat as the commodore passed.

The veteran expressed himself, in complimentary terms, satisfied with all he saw, and after a brief visit to the cabin, retired from the ship. The boatswain, and the side-boys, and the marines repeated their exercises; and the visit of inspection was ended.

Such formalities are useful, if not essential to the preservation of a high state of discipline, because they tend to give a palpable proof of the importance and respect with which superior officers are to be regarded by all subordinates. They are all ancient, and borrowed from the

British code of naval formalities. There are modes of reception and leave-taking appropriate to various grades. Six side-boys receive a commodore or captain; four meet a commander, and two a lieutenant and all other commissioned officers who by custom mess in the ward room. These military ceremonies are devised in reference to the grades of line-officers; and are extended to officers of the staff corps, according to their assimilated rank—that is, according to the grade of the line with which they may be classed.

But it is believed, line officers are reluctant to extend these prescribed formalities to officers of any of the staff-corps, and they either neglect or resist their observance in spite of the General Orders of the Secretary of the Navy, which assign an assimilated rank to medical officers and pursers. Those orders are virtually obsolete, because the Department has not deemed it expedient, for reasons which are not stated, to require all officers of the line to obey them. The formalities are absurd; but inasmuch as they are in the navy, some of the conventional signs of personal respect and consideration, they are as applicable and as important to staff-officers as they are to officers of the line. They are all alike military men; wear swords, epaulets and other insignia of a military vocation; and live under the same military code of laws, and are subject to punishment by the same military courts. For such reasons staff-officers have long sought to obtain by legal enactment, a definite position relatively to officers of the line, that they may be independent of the contingencies of an official courtesy or discretion. They have not sought any right or authority to control or interfere with line-officers in the discharge of their special duties; they do not seek authority to perform any duty peculiar to the line, to command ships or stations, directly or indirectly, in any of the several degrees of line command. But they do seek exemption from being controlled or interfered by all and every grade of line officers, from the highest to the lowest without exception, as caprice or difference of opinion may suggest. The purser, who is responsible under heavy bonds for the pay and provision departments of the ship, while he cheerfully performs all his duties under the legal orders of the captain, seeks to be independent of all orders which do not emanate directly from that officer. The purser cannot perceive the propriety of any system or code which exposes him to be ordered by a lieutenant or a passed-midshipman of the ship, and leaves him subordinate at all times to every officer of the line, even the very youngest, without regard to the length of his own service. He claims, therefore, that the rule of seniority which prevails in the line, should be extended and made common to the line and staff; in other words, that advancement and progression should inure to all equally, from length of service, whether that service be rendered in the line or in any one of the staff-corps. And that such progression should be acknowledged in the code of military formalities or ceremonies adopted by the line. This is among the questions which should be definitely settled in the organization of the naval service; an organization which seems to demand much attention and careful consideration, if an opinion may be formed from the fact that opposite views are supported by intelligent men, upon almost every point of the naval code. Let us return:—

The instant the official visiter has departed, every officer hastens to divest himself of the heavy, cumbersome, and uncomfortable full-dress. It may be regarded as a very unpopular costume by those whose duty obliges them to wear it. The cocked-hat, which seems to have been purposely shaped to deprive it of all pretensions to utility or beauty, is never worn as a thing of choice. It requires a long apprenticeship to learn how to put it on and off, and to keep it fast on the head when the wind blows. There are differences of opinion on the mode of placing it on the head; some few contend that the corners should stand over the shoulders; others that it should have an oblique position; but the majority assert that it should stand "fore and aft," that is, the plane of the cocked hat should be parallel with the axis of the body—one corner projecting forward straight over the nose, and the other inclining downwards over the spine.

I remember a commander and a lieutenant, whose difference of opinion on this subject was so long and warmly contended, that it ended in a rupture; the commander insisted that the cocked hat was designed to be worn "fore and aft," but the lieutenant always wore it "athwartships" on muster-days, and was always rebuked; still he persisted in his opinion at the risk of being tried by a court-martial for disobedience of orders, for he was of opinion that if disobedience could be made of it, he would find his revenge by bringing a charge of cruelty and oppression against the commander, which he would contend was manifested in the attempt to force an officer to wear a cocked hat "fore and aft." This contention about the mode of wearing a cocked hat ended only by sending the lieutenant to another vessel of the squadron. He left us firmly persuaded that our commander was a tyrant of the greatest magnitude; and up to the day of his death, he wore his cocked hat "athwartships" as a sign of his determined resistance to tyranny.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE STORY OF HEINRICH BRUNNER.

About five and twenty years ago, I was returning one night from the opera, hurrying along the Rua d'Ouvidor towards the palace stairs, to escape a shower of rain, which had just commenced. The street was dimly lighted, the pavement rough and plentifully supplied with small pools; besides the rain, there were streams pouring from tubes projecting from the eaves of the houses. I could find shelter nowhere. I heard some one near, who, from the rapidity of his pace, seemed to be in as much haste as myself. Full of the stories about robberies and assassinations which were happening almost nightly in the streets, I felt rather disposed to redouble my steps; and this disposition was increased by the sounds of a sabre clattering over the stones; but I soon found that the feet of my pursuer moved as rapidly as my own. Determined, perhaps by fear, to discover at once whether there was any cause for apprehension, I slackened my speed near a lamp, and in a few minutes, I was overtaken by a gentleman in an Austrian military uniform. I was a good deal relieved to find that I should neither have to run, nor fight, nor get my brains blown out on the dark, wet pavement.

"Friend," said the officer in French, "you are unprotected from the rain; a share of my umbrella is at your service, as far as our way lies together." As he ceased speaking, he offered his arm with so much kindness of manner, that I did not hesitate to accept it; and without waiting for further introduction, which, as an American, or as an Englishman, I ought to have done, we fell into conversation, and in a little while, I almost forgot that my companion was unknown to me.

When we arrived at the landing-slip, the boat had not yet arrived from the ship; the rain still poured in torrents, so that I was glad to accept my new acquaintance's invitation to shelter myself in his quarters, till it should abate.

He conducted me to a house near the palace. We stepped into the hall or vestibule, which was dirty, and lighted by a tallow candle stuck against the wall by its own adhesive property. Yet, unpromising as the whole aspect was, I was gratified to escape from the streets, which were now inches deep in water. A rain in the tropic regions falls as if it would drown the whole earth.

A broad flight of stone stairs, with an iron balustrade, led from the basement to the upper part of the house. On the bottom step a stout slave was watching; that is, he was snoring over his marhimba, an African instrument, that had dropped from his hands; its music had probably lulled him asleep. I followed my host up stairs and into a small room, which presented few conveniences or comforts. An odd fashioned table stood in the centre, and upon it a lamp, which seemed to be one of Necessity's inventions, composed of a saucer of black-looking oil, which fed the smoky blaze that drooped over its edge. As if to dispel the gloom which this melancholy light shed over the apartment, a bottle and glasses were placed beside it. A mattress stretched upon the tile floor, and three or four decrepid chairs, completed the furniture. From nails driven into the plaster, were suspended against the discolored wall, a cloak, coats, spurs, a saddle, bridle, holsters, and a sword, which were evidently some of the professional implements of mine host.

As soon as the wick was properly adjusted, and began to burn more cheerfully, my friend took my cap, placed me a chair near the table, and seated himself on the opposite side of it. The cobweb was brushed from the bottle, and he filled for each of us, a glass of generous Vinho d'Oporto, and drank to my *bonne santè*.

My host was a man of about thirty winters, and stood full six feet high. A first glance remarked nothing but the soldier in his military air, elevated front and moustached upper lip; but a second look discovered a high, broad, polished forehead, shaded by dark clustering hair, arranged in a large ringlet in the centre. He possessed a flashing blue eye, jetty brows slightly arched, a mouth of fearless and generous expression; his chin, the finishing and key-stone feature of the face, was full and slightly dimpled. Though his complexion acknowledged the influence of a tropic sun in its tint, I know some young ladies who would think him "a marvellously proper man." His tones were persuasive, and his urbanity was such as quickly finds its way to the heart, and facilitates acquaintance. Good looks and good manners, are positively influential in advancing a man's fortune in the world; under some circumstances, they are almost as valuable as ability and intelligence.

"To a man of the world," said he, setting down his glass, "it will not be necessary to apologize for the condition of my quarters; I have been too short a time in town to be ready for, or even to expect visiters."

"I never look for apologies; where hospitality is so kindly and unreservedly extended as it is now, a man would be ungrateful to expect them. A soldier's ever-changing life during war,

does not permit him to think of pleasure, or preparing a permanent establishment for the reception of friends."

"*C'est vrai;* nevertheless," he continued, "every man, be his circumstances what they may, owes to society and himself, provision for the reception of friends. I have been here only two days: I move in two more, and from the entire absence of sociability among the Brazilians of this place, I did not anticipate a visit."

"I am told there is very little social intercourse even among themselves?"

"There is, in fact, none, unless it be with persons of the same family; but the families here are generally extensive, for cousins of the remotest consanguinity, are always reckoned amongst the kindred. The existing war and party politics might excuse any other people. Society here, is shackled by the stiff mannerism that characterized the Portuguese a hundred years back; though fond of amusement they dislike expense, and no matter how many entertainments they may accept from foreign residents, they seldom ever think of repaying such civilities."

"Then a residence in Rio offers few attractions to foreigners?"

"For a man of social propensities, it is an exile. Europeans are retained here only by interest. Though I am somewhat in favor and expect preferment, that consideration alone would not induce me to remain an hour. I came here with her Imperial Highness, the Empress; and from necessity, together with some little loyalty to her house, I continue in her service."

After a pause, he continued:

"There are circumstances in which we are sometimes placed at an early age, beyond our control, that determine the course of future life, and cast a shade over the feelings and hopes, which, even the sunshine of prosperity cannot dispel."

"Perhaps that may be due to want of conduct in ourselves, rather than to the circumstances of which we complain. The habit of controlling our own passions, and of perceiving what is favorable to us when in difficulty, is calculated to alleviate, and finally to obliterate those sorrows which spring from disappointment."

He answered in a deep sigh; began to beat the Devil's tattoo, and looked up to the ceiling interrogatively, for something to say. It was evident from his tone and expression of countenance, he had unintentionally touched a chord of sad remembrance. To relieve him of my presence, I suggested that my boat must be at the stairs; yet, I confess curiosity bade me linger in my movement to depart.

To cover his embarrassment, he filled the glasses, saying, "Come, drink your wine; you have a long pull to your ship." He set down his empty glass and opened a window on the varanda. He seemed to contemplate the weather during a few moments, and said, as he resumed his seat, "The rain does not abate; if you will not bivouac for the night, at least remain till it is over. Your boat must have gone; it will be a pleasure to share my quarters with you, and to endeavor to help off the time. You have perceived that I have touched a train of not very pleasing recollections, and I will gratify a curiosity which I suspect in you, by relating the outlines of a little history. It will be like confessing to an unknown priest, for it is not probable we shall meet again after to-night."

I expressed my thanks for his frank confidence, and hoped that this meeting might be the beginning of more intimate relations than commonly exist between a veiled penitent and an unknown confessor, and as a step towards better acquaintance I handed him my card. He gave me his own in return, observing, "now we are introduced without making any one responsible for the consequences." My host proved to be an Austrian, named Heinrich Brunner. He hesitated for a moment, ran his fingers through his hair, as if to collect his scattered memories, and then related, as well as I can recollect it, the following story:

"I was educated at Vienna; my studies were directed, (in accordance with my own inclination which my parents supposed indicated my peculiar genius,) with a view to a military career. It is not necessary for my present purpose, to dwell upon my scholastic pursuits, or to consider the correctness of my choice of a professoin. After the conclusion of my pupilage, I returned to Felsperg, my native village, where I remained many months unemployed. Ardent in my disposition and passionately devoted to the society of ladies, my whole delight was to converse with them. One attracted my undivided admiration. She was known as the Rose of Felsperg, and was the most beautiful woman I have ever seen. She was not too tall, nor were her years too few. Her hair was black and worn in an Italian style. Thoughts seemed to be always on her lips, waiting for words to usher them into the world. Her eyes were sparkling, vivid, roguish, yet timid in expression. She danced with infinite grace, and sang with exquisite skill, and seemed to feel the sentiment of her music. She spoke English without much accent, and her German rivalled Italian in sweetness; she seldom spoke the Austrian dialect, which is considered rough and uncouth even by ourselves. She had been educated at Vienna, and had mingled in society there long enough to acquire all the social accomplishments of that metropolis. Such is an imperfect sketch of Katerina, the Rose of Felsperg, a small

village counting less than three hundred families in all.

"Though my feelings acknowledged the influence of this lady, my reason did not entirely forsake me. In my school-boy visions and vagaries, I had frequently traced an ambitious path, which vanity led me to suppose I would follow, even in opposition to destiny. Devotion to one woman had never entered into my scheme of life, unless it might be 'to amuse me for an idle hour, or to please my senses;' but no dishonorable thought ever invaded my imagination—the winning of a heart, for the sole object of seeing it won, was not part of my amusement. I never thought for a moment that my attentions could inspire love in any woman, and it was my settled belief, that I was ever unsuccessful in pleasing the sex. My personal appearance I always rated low, and I considered my qualities very different from those calculated to charm a lady. Entertaining such notions, I never indulged in *tête-à-tête* conversations, nor did I, as I supposed, ever expose my true feelings when in the society of Katerina. My preference for her society, scarcely known, or rather not admitted to myself, was not unobserved by others. When I railed at the sex, it was supposed I was in jest or practising to hide my real sentiments. At last, an intimate friend accused me seriously of being in love, and from him, I learned that the eyes of her relatives were turned upon me. I at once resolved to break off the intimacy, but in such a manner as to conceal, if possible, the reason for my conduct.

"I visited, in the most social manner, the house of her only sister, the wife of a professional gentleman, for whom I entertained the strongest feelings of respect and friendship. We hunted, dined, drank, played and smoked together, so that much of our time was spent in each other's company. He was decidedly deficient in personal appearance; and was more addicted to conviviality and the pleasures of the field, than was agreeable to the lady, who was young, accomplished, and very beautiful. They had one son. In my reflective moments, which were few, I used to think if I ever should marry, I should select a wife, in all respects, like Frederica.

"Business often occupied her husband during the morning, and I was as often thrown alone into her society, and for my entertainment, she sang, or played, or read aloud. Katerina frequently made visits of a week at her sister's house, and then she joined in to help off the morning hours. When Geismar returned home, we rode on horseback or visited our friends; but after dinner, the ladies were put aside for wine, or for some gymnastic exercise.

"Thus several months had passed, when I was called to Vienna to receive a commission in the army, but I was informed that my services would not be immediately required. One morning, about two weeks previous to my departure from Felsperg, I expressed myself warmly to Frederica against military men encumbering themselves with wives. 'What then,' she exclaimed, in a tone of surprise, 'is to become of Katerina?'

"I was truly amazed. My visits to Katerina had then become rare, and my conduct for more than two months, was, I thought, sufficient to remove any suspicion, that might have previously existed, of a design on my part to seek her as a wife. I therefore affected not to understand there was any connection between my opinions and her sister's matrimonial prospects.

"'Then, am I to learn, indeed,' she asked in astonishment, 'that your attentions to my sister were prompted by politeness?'

"I replied that my attentions to Katerina were paid without any view to marriage, and I did not believe they would fairly bear any such construction. On the contrary, our intercourse was purely platonic, of an every-day sort, on my part, at least, both in word and action, whatever might have been my mental reservations on the subject. I believed Katerina regarded me as a commonplace acquaintance, fond of expressing bizarre notions; indeed, she once told me my eccentricities were infinitely amusing. I frequently said to her, as I have said to others, my wedding-day was included in some one of the very many years to come. She would laugh, and say that she was confident I would be married before her. I remarked further, there was no woman I admired more, or for whom I entertained more respect; but, independently of other objections, I did not believe myself to be altogether agreeable to Katerina. As a military man, as one who had set his heart upon travel, as one whose means were far too limited to maintain the matrimonial state in the rank I held in society as a single man; as one who, in selecting a companion for life, preferred that his bride should not be richer than himself, I had again and again expressed my resolution never to marry while I pursued my present profession. I viewed a wife rather as a clog, an obstacle in the way of advancing in great enterprizes, whether of virtue or of mischief. Yet, were all such objections removed, I confessed Katerina would be my choice, provided I were convinced of her sincere attachment.

"'Then,' she sobbed, 'I fear my poor sister's heart will be broken.'

"I was gratified; my heart thrilled. I asked, 'have I, indeed, gained the esteem of so admirable a woman?'

"'Esteem is a cold term. She loves you; her

frequent presence here is attributable solely to the circumstance that she always meets you. She watches for you at the window; she is familiar with the tones of your voice, and the sound of your footstep, her whole happiness seems to be associated with your presence. If a day pass without seeing you, she seems miserable; suggests that you may be ill, or wonders what can keep you away. Inclement weather is not a reason, in her estimation, for your absence; she declares you are heedless of cold and storms. I have ever thought you too generous to trifle with the heart's affections; and I confess I have been foolish enough to encourage her hope that you were sincerely attached to her. Every member of the family has anticipated the match with pleasure. Geismar and I have long regarded you as our future brother; yet we have all been most sadly mistaken.'

"My plans vanished. New scenes flitted before me. I fancied myself already bound to the fair Katerina. I expressed my abhorrence at the idea of trifling with the affections of a woman; but I did not feel myself chargeable with such a base act, nor did I perceive that I should be held responsible because a lady had bestowed her heart before it was asked. Prudence forbade me, under the circumstances, from marrying at the moment; yet, I could not determine at once what I would do, and it was agreed that our conversation should remain unknown to all persons without exception, until we should meet again.

"I hurried home and shut myself up. I endeavored to investigate the condition in which I stood. At first, I accused myself of imprudence in conducting myself in a manner to win a heart I did not wish to wear; but I acquitted myself on the plea that I had not courted, or flattered, or complimented Katerina. She must not make me the victim of her folly; nothing but vanity, thought I, would induce a woman to yield her affections to a man, before he had clearly manifested love for her. At that moment I resolved I would not marry her. She had no right to know that I was acquainted with her sentiments; indeed, I was not bound to believe Frederica's account of them. If she deceived herself, I was not answerable for the deception: admitting, thought I, that I know, she does love me, this knowledge does not bind me to sacrifice myself to her fancy. She may love me as much as she pleases, but she can not tell me of it until I give her an opportunity. I felt safe; it is the man's exclusive privilege to ask; but the right to refuse is the woman's still higher prerogative. Yet why may not a woman feel love first? The passion is involuntary; it is unjust to chide a poor girl for transgressing a conventional rule in a matter of involuntary feeling. Katerina has not hinted to me in any manner, the state of her heart. I have no right to know it; Frederica has conjectured merely; she did not assert that Katerina told her. Then a question forced itself upon my attention. If Frederica were absolutely certain that her statement was true, has she not over-stepped the limits of delicacy, of right and of respect to both, by her communication? Or, has she, regardless of these considerations, attempted to practise on my feelings, to secure a husband for her sister! I felt ashamed of the suspicion which I soon placed to the account of my own vanity. I argued that if she were merely playing to obtain a husband, she would seek a man whose worldly means were more ample than those of one who ventured to be shot at for a monthly stipend. Besides, I recollected a common impression prevailed, that Katerina would some day inherit a sufficient estate. In short, upon the anvil of fancy, imagination forged a pruning hook out of my sword: I looked through a short vista of future years, and saw myself at the end, in quiet possession of my *chateau en Espagne*, with wife and children and all, strange to say, without cares or difficulties of any kind. What is fame to me?

> "What shall I do to be forever known,
> To make the age to come my own—"

"Shall I squander the most vigorous of my years in efforts to make people say agreeable things of me when I cannot hear? Should I earn a monument and epitaph, they will not be paid until after I cannot see the one or read the other. What, thought I, if I should become a veteran at last, covered with scars and glory, and receive the world's applause; even then, it will be useless; I cannot be happy left all alone in my heart, singing my own praises to myself. The laurels of a soldier can be kept green in his eyes, only as long as he knows there are smiles—and if need be, tears—of affection enough to preserve them fresh.

"In the evening, self-satisfied and buoyant, I walked towards the dwelling of the Rose of Felsperg. She resided with her father, who at that time, was a retired attorney of considerable reputation and some fortune. The mother of Katerina had died in giving her birth. The step-mother possessed an amiable disposition, and was thoroughly educated; she was regulated in her conduct by a high sense of duty, rather than by any kind of affection. She had the entire confidence of her step-daughters, who seemed to regard her as their true mother.

"By the time I had reached the door, the cool air of a winter evening had calmed my thoughts in a measure, and instead of entering the house I passed on, determined to revolve the matter

once again before committing myself for life. I continued my promenade; and had I not stopped to gaze upon the moon, I should not have gone back—"

"The Devil's in the moon for mischief," said I, interrupting the narration, and lighting a cigar; "but I beg you to proceed."

"Yes, sir; the moon played the Devil with me. All my afternoon visions returned, and I retraced my steps.

"Katerina appeared more beautiful than ever. As I entered she pushed aside her harp, and the last line of her song fell upon my ears:

"Non, non je n'aimerai jamais."

But I thought her looks and tone were inconsistent with the words.

"In a very short time, we were *tête à tête*. I was delighted; ambition and reason were melted in the furnace of passion. I could restrain myself no longer, and——I said what came uppermost. She burst into tears, and sobbed faintly—'Do not jest with me—I never loved any but you—nor can I—.' She recovered herself in a moment. She looked up; and there was so much affection and goodness in the look, as she falteringly said—'I have parents—you have mother and father,' that I shall not soon forget it; I believe my capacity of bliss was in that moment filled.

"Late that night, the father—a man of few words—entered the room. I informed him of what had occurred. For a while, he remained silent; but his countenance was free from any shade of displeasure, and yet it was cold and unconcerned, as if he were examining the merits of a cause for which he would receive no fee. My anxiety was at last relieved; he said slowly—'If Katerina is satisfied, I cannot at present see any objection.' After another pause, he demanded by, what means I proposed to maintain a wife, and whether I had become aware of the fact, that, however angelic and *spirituelle* young spinsters are, married ladies have a very great many human necessities which can be relieved only by human means. I replied that I was a soldier, and beyond a soldier's pay, I had no resources.

"'Small, sir! small; very: matrimony is a romance, if founded on fact—do you understand; but if you travel into it on dreamy conjectures, touching the ethereal nature of love and ladies, it is a sterner reality than was ever brought to light in a British chancery suit. It is well that Katerina's mother provided four thousand golden ducats as a marriage dower for each of her daughters; my affection for my child will not end because she becomes a wife.'

"I returned home full of joy. Before breakfast the next morning, my aged mother, whom may God bless and cherish, cordially approved of my choice. My father did not object. He had been a sailor in his youth. 'Marry, my boy,' said he. 'to be sure. A pretty woman under your lee, looking to you for protection, will keep you from running risks by carrying your light sails in the dark. She will be to you as an azimuth, always showing your variation, and thereby guiding you through life; but you must keep her like a long boat, always snug within her chocks!'"

When he spoke of his parents, my narrator seemed much affected, and paused to trim the light.

"You got happily through your courtship," said I, "in spite of your reason and ambition."

"You shall hear. The same day I visited Frederica; on whom I now looked as upon a sister. She received me joyfully; her eyes sparkled, and she seemed to participate in my feelings:

'Se voir aimé, c'est la le vrai bonheur.'

"Two weeks were passed in a dreamy elysium. A thousand plans of happiness were drawn and rejected. Katerina drew pictures of a retired country life, and seemed to long for some spot, like the famed lake of Geneva, where to place her cottage, and pass a life of love and charity; while I was to be the John Speisshammer of the neighborhood, and act over the deeds of that worthy burgomaster.

"The engagement was known to all Felsperg; every body said, heaven had designed us one for the other. At last the day of my departure came. I set out, followed by blessings, and charges of Katerina to write often.

"From every post on my route, I briefly informed my friends of my progress. From Vienna, my letters were records of my enthusiastic love mingled with tender reproaches that I was either forgotten or neglected. Two days after my arrival, I received a letter from Katerina; but it was cold and studied, and weighed heavily on my heart. I at once charged her in reply, with a change of sentiment, and released her from an engagement, because it seemed to me irksome to her, and because it might have been entered into unreflectingly. But I implored her to relieve my anxiety by stating faithfully the condition of her heart. A response came, and never did paper breathe more sweetness and affection. She dreaded to think she might never heal the wound inflicted by her first letter. She feared that excess of feeling would make her unhappy. She longed for nothing except my return; and, to prevent future misunderstanding, she prayed that we might never be separated again. But besides

this one, I did not receive another letter until my return home, which was at the expiration of five weeks.

"While hastily despatching dinner on the very day of my arrival, that I might hasten to Katerina, I received a third letter. She knew not, she said, how I might bear what she was about to communicate. She regretted that it was her misfortune, during my absence to change her sentiments. She had met another whom she regarded as my superior in every particular, and to him she had transferred her dearest affections. Yet she esteemed me and hoped that the circumstance of not having known her own mind would not deprive her of my friendship. She felt herself a perjured woman, but was sure that her present resolutions were the result of dispassionate reflection! She said her first letter, dated only two days after my departure, was written with her present impressions; and her second was written because she felt that my affections deserved such a return, and my letter such a reply, and concluded by invoking heaven's blessing upon me.

"Without discovering to my family that this precious epistle contained anything of an unpleasant nature, I ended my meal, but with much less impatience and much less gusto than I had begun it.

"I hastened to Geismar's. In a short time Frederica entered the drawing-room alone, bearing in her hand a pretty casket. Her eyes filled with tears as they met mine, and I inquired what had happened to cause her to weep. 'Oh,' she exclaimed, 'who could have dreamed of such conduct in Katerina?' I still affected ignorance and composure and asked, 'What has she done?' She brushed away her tears, and demanded with effort. 'Have you, or have you not received a letter from Katerina to-day?'

"I replied affirmatively; but until that moment I had doubted it was truly from Katerina. I said it was a bitter disappointment, and perhaps might exert an unhappy influence on my future life.

"I now learned that soon after I had gone to Vienna. Katerina attended a ball given in honor of the birth-day of our Princess. She met there an officer who, though a soldier of admitted courage was a noted libertine. He was considered a very handsome man among ladies, and his manners were graceful, and his voice and language were most persuasive. He seemed to possess a power which is attributed to certain animals of fascinating the objects of their prey, and when his admiration rested upon a lady, it boded ill. She became enamoured of this man and seized every opportunity to throw herself in his way; and, upon a very slight invitation, spent several days at his father's house, situated in a romantic spot about two leagues from Felsperg. His sister was a woman whose disposition was similar to his own, and was generally regarded as a coquette of many years' experience. A passing acquaintance, but of long standing with Katerina, was, at the birth-night ball, suddenly ripened into intimacy. This lady readily enlisted under her brother's banner, and practised every female art and blandishment to assist the Captain in gaining the heart of Katerina, for whom she believed he really entertained some honest affection; and she thought, if a marriage could be effected, it would be the means of reclaiming the only person whom she truly loved. She believed with him, that 'all is fair in love and war.' With a view to increasing an intimacy already begun, a sleighing party was got up, and a dance was given at the Captain's; for they were aware that Katerina's disposition had not been strongly towards them, a circumstance which served to stimulate pursuit. In a short time Katerina was brought to listen complacently to his suit, in spite of many and various representations made to her of the impropriety of being in the society of such a man. At that period no one supposed his attentions were agreeable to her; and she was once asked by Frederica whether she did not perceive an indelicacy in forming an intimate acquaintance with any man during my absence, and particularly with one of doubtful reputation. She was angered by the question, and claimed to be still her own mistress, and to associate with whom she pleased.

"Katerina visited Frederica that morning for the first time during three weeks, and had left for me two parcels; one contained the letters I had written, and the other several gifts I had made at different times. The package of letters, without breaking the seal, I put at once into the fire; the presents thus cast back upon my hands I retained. I gave Frederica the three communications, all I had ever received, and gave her my permission to read them. She wept, and declared it grieved her to see me bear such a disappointment without a tear. I told her it was not an occasion of sorrow; that I should be congratulated that heaven had delivered me from the misery which must have followed a union with a faithless woman.

"I assured Frederica, however, that the conduct of Katerina could not affect the esteem I entertained for her and Geismar, or influence my intercourse with society generally, and much less interrupt my visits to a house where I had always experienced affectionate consideration. I expressed a hope that my prospects in life were not blighted by unkind treatment of one of the many ladies who honored me with regard.

"The following day I called on the father of

Katerina, but met her stepmother. Our conversation was general, though on her part constrained, for she was piqued to know the state of my feelings, yet she refrained from asking any question till I was about to take leave. She then observed, 'I suppose you will *now*, (emphasising the monosyllable,) be quite anxious to join your regiment.'

"I replied, not more so now than I ever had been, and I begged her not to imagine I was to be driven from friends and family by a woman whose conduct had rendered her indifferent to me.

"When I met her father, he pressed my hand warmly and his eyes filled with tears. 'How can I express my grief and disappointment?' said he. 'Perhaps you think I might have prevented it; but I acted upon a resolution, long since formed, never to encourage or oppose any matrimonial arrangement of my children, unless it were clearly disgraceful. You are not the first man who has been jilted. This will not trouble you long; it is not much worse than losing on a favorite horse, or choosing a wrong sauce at dinner. I once came nearer wedlock than you have done. I furnished a house and went to bring home my wife; but she very coolly told me she had just changed her mind. I felt then I presume, very much as you do now, very much surprised and a little indignant; but in two years I was married, and then I wondered how I could have thought of the jilt at any time. Keep your feelings out of sight, and you will soon get them out of mind.'

"You may imagine the effect of such a sermon. It certainly did not soothe my pent-up irritation; but I was too proud not to smile, to keep the feeling out of sight.

"I could not avoid meeting Katerina in society. But I refrained from all manifestation of resentment, and deported myself towards her as I did to all ladies with whom I had merely an acquaintance. She contrived to communicate to me through a friend that she expected a reply to her last letter; and for this reason I wrote a note stating that Madam Geismar was in possession of the letters she had addressed to me. and in reply to her declaration that she felt like one who was perjured, I said, that as far as it rested with me she was acquitted of so serious a charge, but its truth could be determined only by her own conscience. Her change of sentiment I set down to her innate nature, and being a woman, she should not hold herself seriously responsible for insincerity. As to friendship, she would learn it is not to be obtained at the low price of asking it, and concluded my really savage note by wishing her proposed marriage might be as satisfactory to herself and friends as it was perfectly indifferent to me.

"The day after she received this letter, I entered the boudoir of her sister rather abruptly, and had advanced to where Madam Geismar stood, looking over some drawings, before I observed that Katerina and one of her fair-cousins was also in the apartment. I bowed to the ladies, and hastening forward extended my hand to Katerina, and expressed a hope she had been well since we met last. She received my hand, grew pale, but did not speak. I turned and addressed her sister gaily. The effect was to send Katerina half swooning from the room; and I learned afterwards, and I fear with satisfaction, that she was obliged to keep on a bed for several hours. She complained that my deportment fell like ice upon her heart. But it soon melted before the fire of her new love. At the end of four weeks she married and I felt relieved. My revenge died upon the altar before which she became the bride of an unworthy rival. The story does not end here; but you are fatigued?"

"No, no," said I, "go on; but before we proceed, let us try that Port again. You know,

> 'Every drop we sprinkle,
> O'er the brow of care
> Smooths away a wrinkle!'"

"True, true," he rejoined; "but it is not the wise way to get rid of sorrows:—*Allons; qui n'a pas des vices, n'a pas des jouissances.*"

Having emptied our glasses and trimmed the lamp, Brunner continued.

"I visited Geismar's very constantly, and I met there so much sympathy that I almost wished my departure were more distant. I regarded Frederica in the light of a sister; and opened to her and her husband for whom I entertained great esteem, all my plans and prospects. At length I was called to join the regiment, and learned I was to accompany Leopoldina, now the Empress, to Brazil.

"When I communicated this news to Frederica, she seemed to be shocked. I was much affected by such a manifestation of attachment, and expressed myself gratified—but I said, 'I shall soon be forgotten perhaps, and be no more thought of than the rose you admired this morning in the vase; it will wither and die, and its place will be supplied by another, destined to enjoy all the esteem and admiration of its predecessor.'

"'No no, Heinrich! You are mistaken; indeed you are. You think my feelings have their origin in congeniality, in the mutual exchange of kindness; that I have taught myself to see you as a brother—but alas, it is not so. We shall never meet again—Hear me to the end: then despise me if you will. While I encouraged an alliance with my sister, I was guilty of loving, and looked forward to your marriage with horror.

Still, I thought I might extend kind attentions to her husband and thus soothe a consuming fire which might then burn forever in secret. I was and I am still aware of the guilt of the thought. But my affections are not subject alone to my will. I make this disclosure at this moment, because I cannot bear that you should leave us without knowing that, though one heart has played you false, there is still another whose every pulse is yours, which beats only for you, yet will never yield to any act in conflict with my marriage vow. I pledged more than was in my power. Love is not voluntary; it cannot be forced. Had I never seen you, or heard you speak, I should have been content; but now I am wretched. Yet, dear Heinrich, I have an excuse. When young I loved, as I love now, a man who was the very counterpart of yourself. Through the influence of my parents, who were prejudiced against him solely because he was poor, he was sent abroad and never returned. Through persuasion I married Geismar. He loves me as much as he can love any thing, but he is cold and incapable of ardent affection such as I require. I have lived happy for a time; but now I have a grief I cannot communicate. While a sunny smile is wreathed on my countenance, my breast is torn with sorrow and anguish.'

"Her tears fell fast; and her utterance was embarrassed. I endeavored to console her; promised to be her friend, her brother, every thing I could be, honorably, and urged that my absence would enable her to regain control of her feelings. She labored under great excitement; but she at length recovered somewhat from her agitation and said, 'you are right, Heinrich; this passion must be crushed. I am sensible of it; pardon my weakness; recollect I have trusted my very existence to your honorable keeping.' At this moment, Geismar himself was heard approaching; she composed herself to a surprising extent, and I took an affectionate leave of both, and the next day left Felsperg. I soon embarked at Leghorn for this country, and have now been here more than nine years.

"Soon after my departure Geismar died; and his widow, in less than two years married again. Such has been my experience with women; and that experience has filled my heart with melancholy suspicions, which no effort of mine has been able to dispel. Before I knew those women, I believed that beauty was naturally the shrine of truth and purity; I did not fancy that kind looks and sweet tones could ever mean to deceive. When I found myself cajoled and cheated in my judgment of Katerina, I did not regard her as the type of her sex, but as a monstrous exception. I still believed Frederica was sincere, and when I discovered she was false and inconstant in her attachment to Geismar, I pitied her condition, and was silly enough to fanc that to me her affection was pure and unalterable. But when I knew that in less than three years after her solemn confession of love for me, she pledged herself to be true to a third, my capacity to confide in women perished, and I became a miserable, sceptical misanthrope in all that relates to the sex. I am unhappy because I am affectionate; I seek affection and demand it ardently, but dare not believe that it exists in woman."

As he concluded, Brunner arose and paced the room for a few moments; and then, as if to conceal his emotion, he sang gaily,

> Ce n'est plus Næris que j'aime,
> Et Næris s'en fait un jeu.
> De ces ardeurs infideles
> Ce qui reste, c'est qu' enfin,
> Depuis, à l'amour des belles
> J'ai mêlé le goût du vin.

I was very much interested in the simple, and really very common-place incidents of Brunner's narrative. He appeared to me to be a generous, over-sensitive soul, full of truth and honor, and until his eyes were opened by rude experience, believed all the world to be as simple in heart and mind as himself. He had nursed his sorrows too long in the solitude of his own bosom, where they assumed exaggerated shapes; and he needed freely to expose them to the eye of a friend to reduce them to mere nothings.

I remarked, "your acquaintance with ladies has indeed been unfortunate, but, my dear sir, you should not forever think there is 'not a Leah left thy recompense to be.' If you persist to judge of all women by the specimens you have known best, you can find no pleasure in female society. Suspicion must remove it from you as a source of happiness. You will excuse me for saying you are wrong. Your opinions are formed without sufficient experience, without sufficient data, and your sentiments naturally flow from indulgence in this disappointment. Though Katerina and Frederica proved not to be what you estimated them to be, I assure you there are females without number who possess all the virtues even poets attribute to them, and who are as pure and true as it is possible for humanity to be. It is not just to suspect all, because in your narrow experience you have found two who are not immaculate. You do not reject a fruit because you have found some of its kind unsound; nor all roses, because you were stung by a bee concealed in the first flower you plucked; nor all men, because some are known to be dishonest, nor all women because some have proved to be unworthy.

"Possibly you have confided too implicitly on your own discernment, in your own ability to perceive all the merits and demerits united in a woman. A closer observer than yourself might have detected the natural inconstancy and frivolity which characterized your Felsperg beauties, and recognised in them exceptions, rather models of female excellence. Some allowance must be made too for the influence of education on the natural mental frailties. To marry advantageously, is the grand object of female education and blandishment; and with this object it sometimes terminates, leaving out of the programme all the requisites of living happily after a husband has been acquired. Marriage, it has been said and perhaps truly, is the grand climax of a woman's life in civilized communities, towards which all her natural impulses, secret aspirations and ambition tend—and there her ambition often ends. We should not take it amiss, therefore, if she should select a profligate, a butterfly of fortune, and break her pledge with a simply virtuous, high-toned gentleman. With man on the contrary, marriage is a mere episode in existence, which may engross him for a few months, seldom for years, when he finds, only too often, that the lady ceases to be an attractive companion, and he feels at liberty to leave her, time after time, in pursuit of business or amusement. And this too, when he imagined that *his* honey-moon should never wane, and that her society alone would compensate him for the whole world. Man should be too proud, to be the play-thing, the mere ruin of an unsuccessful love, almost ephemeral in its nature and duration, the gratification of which might have rendered him happy only for a brief period.

'Bisogna uniformarsi al destino.'

He must accommodate himself to circumstances when he cannot control them, and not reject happiness altogether, because he was unable to grasp it at the first attempt, or in the manner he may have desired. Life without woman would be to man a blank as great as if immortality were beyond his comprehension. And take my word for it—

'The charm of life that's lost in love,
Is never found in fame.'

"The very effort to forget serves as a memento, a rallying point for the memory. It is absolutely necessary to happiness that the heart should have somebody, or something upon which to pour out and receive its affections. It will not flourish alone, and its tendencies must not be restrained, but encouraged to expand and embrace all that can awaken its pure sympathies."

It was late when we closed the conversation; our parting glass drained a second bottle of *Vinho d'Oporto*. The rain had ceased, and the clouds had disappeared. Brunner accompanied me to the palace-stairs, where I shook him again by the hand, stepped into one of the boats of the country, and was soon gliding over the phosphorescing waters of the bay under brighter stars than twinkle in the north. I reclined in the stern of the boat and was lost in reflections on the story I had just heard, when a sentinel's shout of "Boat ahoy" brought to mind the realities of my present position.

On subsequent visits, in after years, I met Brunner, and learned from him that my remarks had opened to him a new train of thought, which resulted in his quitting the Brazilian army, soon after the death of the Empress, which occurred in December 1826, and in establishing himself as a merchant. He married, and had no cause to regret it. During my present visit, I learned that he had retired to his native country with an income amply sufficient for all his desires. I may add, I have no doubt that all the incidents of the narrative are absolutely true, and in the hands of a professed *litterateur*, they would be sufficient, simple and common-place as they are, to form a modern romance.

—

CHAPTER XIV.

Campo da Acclamação; Fountain; Vaccine Institute; A Bachelor's Country Lodge; Costume; Reception of American Minister Afloat; Assimilated rank conferred on Citizens; Privilege of the starboard side illustrated by an old Anecdote; General notions about the position of Assistant Surgeons in the Navy; The good of the Service; Nautical nomenclature; Officers proper; Line and Staff; Sea-officers; Idlers; Non-combatants; Civil Officers.

Tuesday May 9th.—Set out about noon with two friends to visit a valetudinary who is sojourning about five miles out of town. We drove through the city across the Campo da Acclamação to a road which leads to the palace of San Cristavão, or Boa Vista, the residence of the Emperor, which is about four miles from the Campo; it is represented to be in all respects a delightful spot. It was a gift from a private citizen to King John VI., the grandfather of Dom Pedro II., the present occupant.

This Field of Acclamation was originally called Campo de Santa Anna, and probably acquired a new title from being the site of popular demonstrations on various great national occasions, including the acclamation of Dom Pedro I.,

on the 12th of October, 1822, when, it is said, a hundred thousand people were assembled in it.

This Campo da Acclamação, or as it is also called, Campo da Honra, is an irregular, oblong quadrangle, of considerable extent, and is by far the largest public square in the city. It lies between the old and newer parts of the town. On one side the Senate House stands conspicuously, though it has no architectural pretensions to consideration, being a plain edifice of two stories. The square boasts a fountain surrounded by eight columns, which support lamps for its illumination at night; the water flows constantly into two large stone basins or reservoirs which are used in common, as lavatories by scores of black laundry damsels, whose voices are generally heard at a distance, above the splash and crack of the linen garments wherewith they thresh the stony margin of the cisterns, under the pretext of making them clean. The cheerful voice and merry laugh constitute a tolerably sure sign that working people are inwardly content, for your habitually hungry folks are habitually strangers to mirthfulness.

The "Camara Municipal," that is, the chambers or offices of the city authorities; the National Museum, and the Vaccine Institute, devised (and ably sustained) to extend gratuitously the vaccine protection against small-pox, are also on this square. Twenty years ago it was not uncommon to encounter slaves and others lounging about the streets, covered in the eruption of small-pox. Unprotected persons were thus constantly exposed to the contagion of this loathsome malady.

After pursuing the Boa Vista road for a mile, we turned to the left, and then to the right towards Tejuco, a peak three thousand feet high. A ride of five or six miles brought us into an amphitheatre of green clad hills. We alighted at a house, built on a gentle elevation almost at the bottom of the earthy basin; and in all directions from this point the eye met lovely and picturesque views. The bright tropical foliage, and the numerous white villas contrasting with it, conspire, under the influence of a clear blue sky and delicious air, to delight the senses. The house is a one story cottage-like structure with high steps, surrounded by a broad piazza, furnished with swinging hammocks and comfortable arm chairs The rooms are large and the ceilings lofty; and their number is sufficient to lodge quite a numerous family. It is occupied by an American gentleman who is seeking to improve his worldly estate by labor in some branch of Brazilian commerce. From eight o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon, he is at the counting house or "on change;" but the rest of the twenty-four hours, except only the time on the road back and forth, are passed at this retreat, amidst most enchanting scenery and beautiful flowers. These are bachelor quarters, where one is free to enjoy that robe-de-chambre-and-embroidered-slipper sort of life, which natives of temperate regions are disposed to find agreeable in the torrid zone. Very hot weather forbids an easy and contented observance of the rules of costume which prevail in high latitudes; and nothing but the presence of ladies can render broad cloth coats and leather boots bearable in the vicinity of the equator, where most persons sigh for

"Very thin clothing and but little of it."

A round jacket of linen instead of a coat; a ribbon around the neck instead of a cravat or stock, and light pumps or slippers in place of boots, are in accordance with comfort; and they would be in accordance with taste also, were it not for the arbitrary rules of the jade Fashion, who has doubtlessly been influenced by her sex to favor the ladies in her legislative acts. Why such articles of attire should be, under her rule, immodest or unfit envelopes of gentlemen when ladies are present on hot days, I do not know; nor do I understand that conventional contradiction, which makes the fulness of female costume proportionate to the extent of surface—trunk and extremities—left unscreened from the gaze and admiration of the public. I desire not to be misunderstood; I admire that fashion of full-dress, although I do not perceive why Fashion should permit womankind to enjoy its provisions for coolness in hot climates, while she insists upon covering mankind to the chin in artificial fabrics of wool, and at the same time encourages a natural growth to hide the mouth and cheeks.

At this bachelor retreat, we found full preparation for a bachelor welcome and hospitality. The whole menage seemed to be carefully conducted with a view to a tranquil enjoyment of life; and, although ladies may doubt the statement, I do not hesitate to say perfect cleanliness and order every where prevailed. Our valetudinary friend received us, and in the absence of the proprietor, "did the honors" of the establishment.

We dined and returned to the ship before the evening gun was fired.

May 10th.—The American Minister dined today with the Commodore on board of the flagship. A salute of seventeen guns and the usual military ceremonies marked the reception of the distinguished civil officer. According to technical meaning the person whose presence is recognised by such formalities, possesses a military rank, either lineal, relative or assimilated. In the case of Consuls, Ministers and diplomatic agents of various grades, these ceremonies are

graduated according to an assumed or an established assimilated rank, which carries with it, however, no authority to command. Though a minister plenipotentiary should be received on board one of our public ships with all the formalities which mark the reception of an admiral, and thus he should be acknowledged to possess assimilated rank with admirals, he does not possess any authority or right to command as an admiral in the military or naval community. It is simply the military mode of extending courtesy, of showing respect to persons who merit distinguished consideration, either through their official position as civilians or through their public virtues. The reception of men distinguished as philosophers, as poets, as literary men, and as statesmen, though at the time they held no office, either civil or military, has been accompanied by the observance of military formalities in a degree proportionate to their standing as estimated by the officer in command. There is no military law or usage which confines these formalities exclusively to officers of the line in military organizations. It is, however, believed by very many, both in the army and navy, that line officers are reluctant to admit that staff-officers should be entitled to an assimilated rank, and consequently to the military honors which inure to it. Within ten years, assistant surgeons, who have always held commissions sanctioned by the Senate of the United States, which may be taken as an indication of the estimation of the office by the government, entered and left American ships of war almost without any military observance, except that they were in many instances required to go and come by the "larboard" or "port" side, which was common to the "forward" officers, privates and servants; and any attempt to compel any commissioned officer of the line to pass in or out of a man-of-war at anchor by that side, would be resented as an invasion of his official dignity, and possibly characterized as an act of cruelty or oppression. Those who aspired to the character of exact disciplinarians, were punctilious on this, and regarded it as including a point of honor. When certain young officers of the medical corps found they were officially forbid the use of the starboard gangway, and were sometimes reminded that the starboard side of the quarter deck pertained, as a promenade, to officers of the cabin and ward-room messes exclusively, and while any of those were present upon it, that they could be there only by the sufferance or courtesy of men whose commissions or patents of authority were, verbally and literally the same as their own, they felt their self-respect and pride were outraged, and they were socially degraded far below the point to which their office, profession, and intelligence entitled them. They felt positively sure that neither the public interests nor the discipline, nor the subordination, nor the common happiness of the ship's company, could be advanced, either separately or conjointly, as sufficient reasons for insisting that assistant surgeons should not be as free to use the starboard gangway and the starboard side of the quarter-deck, as any other officers holding commissions in the navy, whether in the line or in any of the staff departments. They could not estimate themselves to be either socially, or educationally, or professionally the inferiors of any gentleman; but they did not for an instant imagine they were not to be officially subordinate, and at all times cheerfully respectful to the legitimate authority, and obedient to the lawful orders of the commander of the ship, or to the lawful orders of surgeons with whom they were associated.

The assistant surgeons of the time in question, could not be prevailed upon to admit that the arbitrary rule of military etiquette, which excluded them from the use of the starboard gangway, and of the starboard side of the quarter-deck, when any member of the cabin or ward-room messes was upon it, was founded in reason. Whenever they demanded why they were compelled to pass in and out of the ship by the "port" gangway with servants, privates "forward" and "warrant" officers, the answer was always, "Because you do not mess in the ward-room," which was equivalent to saying, Because you do not inhabit a fashionable or aristocratic quarter in the community. This argument was not satisfactory, because they observed almost daily, that commissioned officers of the line conferred a sort of ephemeral, assimilated rank, on gentlemen who belonged to no military community whatever, by receiving their citizen friends, merchants and others from the shore, at the starboard gangway, with the military ceremonies, which are commonly assigned to lieutenants of the line. They observed too, that assistant surgeons were always welcome guests in the ward-room and in the cabin, and in very many instances, they were the constant and intimate companions or friends of those very gentlemen of the line who were the most stubborn observers of the rule of etiquette, which had become offensive. Therefore, they could not reasonably suppose the application of the rule was made through personal or social prejudices.

Sometime in the year 1843, a ship of the line of the United States, bearing the broad pennant of a commodore, was at anchor in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. One of the assistant surgeons of the ship had become an intimate companion and friend of the first or senior lieutenant. A party had been formed to visit either the Corco-

vado summit or the Botanic Garden, and the assistant surgeon, who, through his urbanity, intelligence and gentlemanly bearing, was very popular with all grades, had been invited by officers of the ward-room to join in the excursion. He had received "leave" from his friend, the first-lieutenant, to go on shore, as is customary. The party was assembled on deck. At the time, a boat was at the starboard gangway to take the gentlemen of the ward-room on shore, and at the same moment another boat was at the "port" gangway to convey the ward-room steward and several "warrant" or forward officers to the landing. As a boatswain's mate began to "pipe the side," and the two side boys assumed their stations, the assistant surgeon advanced towards the starboard gangway to enter the boat first, in accordance with the rule which requires the junior to precede the senior officers when leaving a ship. At the instant he reached the gangway, he was arrested by the authoritative voice of his friend, the first-lieutenant, calling, "Doctor, you can't leave the ship in the ward-room boat; you will take passage in the boat from the port side."

The mortification and astonishment of the assistant surgeon on hearing this order, can be better imagined than described. He hesitated an instant, and then inquired whether the first-lieutenant seriously determined that he should not accompany his friends of the ward-room in their boat. The reply was substantially, "The order is, that assistant surgeons can pass in and out of the ship only by the 'port' gangway. It is among the internal regulations."

"Then, sir," replied the assistant surgeon, "I shall obey the order by remaining on board."

"You can use your pleasure, sir," retorted the lieutenant, and then addressing himself to the party assembled from the ward-room, "Gentlemen, the boat is at your service."

After the flush of excitement had subsided, the assistant surgeon argued the point with his friend, who entrenched himself behind certain assertions and tenets universally admitted in all military governments. The lieutenant was sure that the military efficiency of the navy must be in proportion to its discipline; and there could be no discipline without system and regulations. He was very positive in his belief that the service would soon go to —— that perpetual abode of sinning souls with a monosyllabic name—if any officer or man were permitted to think about the propriety of an order from the first-lieutenant before obeying it. It was enough for him to know the usage of the service, and what were the internal regulations of the ship, without bothering himself to study out whether any one of them was useless or not. "That is the Captain's business; if he chooses to alter his internal regulations to suit your notions," kindly remarked the lieutenant, "I cannot prevent it; but, much as I like you, Doctor, I will say, if I were in his place, I would not. It is all nonsense for you to suppose you cannot enjoy yourself as much, going over the 'port' as over the starboard gangway; and if you choose, for such a silly thing, to quarantine yourself on board all the cruise, you have no right to blame me. When you have been in service as long as I have, you will discover it don't do to be too particular about the kind of orders that are served out. You would have got ashore just as dry and almost as soon in the boat with the steward, as if you had gone over the starboard side with the ward-room officers. Come, Doctor, you had better make up your mind to take it easy; you will be a ward-room officer yourself one of these days, and then you will understand that young officers should have too much respect for superiors, ever to question their orders."

The assistant surgeon appealed to the Commodore, but was met by a similar course of argument. The Commodore felt bound to sustain the first-lieutenant, and he could not hazard the subordination and discipline of the ship by altering the "internal regulations," or by consenting to any evasion of them to gratify assistant surgeons in their new-fangled notions. According to his experience, the surgeons' mates of old times were just as good as the assistant surgeons of the day—the same thing under another name—and he was very sure he had never heard that the "port" side was not good enough for them. He deprecated innovations generally, and implied rather than distinctly expressed a notion that the changing the title of surgeons' mate to assistant surgeon, (which was effected in a law of 1828,) was the origin of a good deal of discontent among the young doctors. The name, assistant-surgeon, sounded better, and in the estimation of those who bore it, entitled them to more consideration and greater privileges than the old fashioned surgeons' mates. But, in his opinion, there never was a greater mistake, and he had determined, as far as he had power, "to put down" all absurd pretensions to the starboard side, pretensions which would some day destroy the pride of our gallant navy, and then Congress would regret, that it had not listened to the old men, the veterans of the service, who know that the captains of the navy cannot have too large a discretion for the glory of our flag. A man can never accomplish any thing great, if he is forced to move on tip-toe, picking his way among the fancied rights and privileges, for fear of jostling some new fledged "idler." He knew he was as liberal in his views as any man, but he had "the

good of the service" at heart, and, though he was sure he could never be reconciled to see assistant surgeons clothed with a right to the starboard side, he was firm in the opinion that "the good of the service" required that the captain should have complete, entire and unlimited control over every officer and man on board ship. They should know they are dependent, while afloat, upon the supreme will of the captain for every thing, and learn to be satisfied, that, when he refuses to grant a request of any kind, the refusal is for "the good of the service," exclusively. A true hearted, gallant officer of the navy in command of a frigate or ship-of-the-line, feels all the solicitude of a father of a family, and kind of parental responsibility for the respectability of the family name. He is far above those sentiments which are apt to grow up where there is rivalry or competition; he can have no prejudices, no petty or mean jealousies against subordinates whom he regards as children; but the moment his generosity or liberality is doubted, by giving his inferiors rights and privileges by law, which are calculated to create a preposterous notion that they may be, in some respects at least, independent of, if not equal to their commander, he must then begin to feel that his judgment, generosity, benevolence and universal knowledge, are no longer implicitly relied upon by the government. He will reason with himself in vain to heal the wound which must be made, when he learns for the first time, the navy department imagines, it is possible, a captain may do wrong. The conclusion is inevitable; he will see "the good of the service" is no longer entrusted to his sole keeping, and he will sit crest-fallen and alone in his cabin, brooding over the impending ruin of the naval service which he had loved from boyhood up, and what will be the result? The "good of the service" will be destroyed through crimping and confining the captains in the exercise of authority; their pride and spirit will be gone, and in event of a war, the influence will be seen by the nation when it is too late. Then, he desired to know what possible advantage would inure to the government of the United States, by permitting assistant surgeons in the navy to use the starboard side, just as if they were ward-room officers: he admitted there might be, but he was free to confess that for his part, he could not see it for the life of him.

When the assistant surgeon ventured to ask if the navy, or any public or private interest could be injured in the most trifling degree, by permitting him to use the starboard gangway, the commodore bestowed upon him a look of commiseration, and endeavored to impress upon his young mind that such a view of the subject could not be for one moment entertained. "The good of the service" only, was to be looked to in all cases. The question was, will it benefit the navy, and if it could be demonstrated affirmatively to his satisfaction, he would yield his private convictions, and place assistant surgeons on a footing with ward-room officers. Yet, even supposing, for argument's sake, that it could be shown that such a change in the long established usage of the service could not injure any person or interest, he would be slow to conclude that such a reason was sufficient, because he would be the last man, he hoped, to favor any man, or class of men, in an attempt to make use of the public service, merely for their private benefit, without a corresponding advantage to the government which he had the honor to serve. Men might do many things for their own gratification without any injury whatever to others, but that fact in itself was not a sufficient reason why they should be permitted. He argued that a young gentleman might find great pleasure in kissing a lady, but he could not be justified in taking such a liberty, on a plea that the kissing, so far from doing an injury, would be, probably, agreeable to her.

The assistant surgeon next urged that there were then already several ships, on board of which, the assistant surgeons messed in the ward-room by invitation, and it seemed to be a prevalent opinion among lieutenants, that assistant surgeons should be ward-room officers. Some lieutenants, however, were opposed to inviting assistant surgeons into the mess; but, declared, at the same time, they would be glad to see a regulation or law, to make them members of the ward-room mess. It was not apparent that any injury whatever had accrued to discipline, from the fact that assistant surgeons in the cases referred to enjoyed, through courtesy, the privileges and starboard-side honors of ward-room officers.

The Commodore was aware of those cases of departure from the usage of the service, but he was not satisfied that, although no injury to discipline was yet manifest, still it might not come. He supposed the assistant surgeons who had won so much consideration by their deportment, were gentlemen of rare good sense and education, and would not presume to arrogate any thing beyond the courtesies voluntarily extended to them by the "deck" officers. He feared, however, that if assistant surgeons were placed at once in the ward-room, without any opportunity to learn subordination, the surgeons might find great difficulty in controlling them; the young are too apt to over-estimate their abilities and importance, and to seek every opportunity to set up as equals of their seniors, and those assistants, (and he did not doubt there might be many of the sort,) who

entertained extravagant opinions of themselves, would soon get to be above their business, and become insufferably insubordinate and disrespectful to the old surgeons. He was quite sure that, if he were a surgeon, he should strenuously oppose any regulation which would elevate assistant surgeons to the dignity of the ward-room mess. The ward-room was crowded too full already, and he could not refrain from believing the mess would be more comfortable, if some of the "idlers" and "non-combatants" were otherwheres accommodated. In his opinion, no gentleman should be admitted a member of the ward-room until after he had served a sufficient apprenticeship in the steerage, to be thoroughly "broken in" to discipline and subordination. If pursers, chaplains and secretaries were obliged to live two or three years in the steerage, instead of coming from shore directly into the ward-room "it would be better for the good of the service." They would learn there, what they can learn no where else. He admitted that the "deck" officers, as he denominated those of the line, were subordinate, the junior to the senior, and the first-lieutenant did not find those of less rank in his grade were reluctant to obey in consequence of familiar association in the mess; and he was aware, too, that in the army, all the officers of a regiment, holding commissions of every grade and rank, were often associated in one mess, and the youngest sometimes presided at table, without injury to discipline, which, to him, was a very unaccountable circumstance. He felt quite sure the command of the ship would be very insecure if lieutenants were permitted to mess in the cabin with their commander; and it was a wonder to him how masters of merchant ships, in which it was the universal custom for the captain and all his mates to live together in the cabin, managed to retain such discipline and subordination; but he fancied it was because they had been "broken in," before the mast. The fact was, in his opinion, that the captain of a ship should be regarded as an absolute monarch, from whose decision, on all subjects, there could be no appeal by inferiors; and to retain a proper supremacy, it was necessary he should be hedged round by all kinds of formalities and ceremonies calculated to inspire all with a kind of dreadful respect for his presence and name. He believed that the lieutenants of modern times did not regard a captain with as much awe as was necessary for "the good of the service." He remembered the time when he was a midshipman and a lieutenant: then he would as soon have thought of cutting off his right hand as to have lodged at the same hotel with his captain; and as a midshipman he had too much deference for his commander to walk on the same side of the street; but since all sorts of new-fangled notions had sprung up, and innovations had crept into the service, lieutenants not only lodged at the same hotels with captains, but some of them were so forgetful of what was due to their superiors, that they would even remain on the starboard side of the quarter deck, perfectly self-possessed, in the presence of their commander; and, as if that were not enough, assistant surgeons aspired to the ward-room; and he would not be surprised to hear that non-combatants regarded themselves to be on a footing with "officers proper" of the navy.

Such were the views and opinions which existed ten years ago. Certain slang terms from long use had become technical to the navy, the officers of which had little leisure, even if they had an inclination, to attend strictly to philology, or verbal definitions. Officers of the line were termed "officers proper of the navy," probably because the word "line" was and is appropriately used in the army; and in the ancient days of the Ben Bows and Von Tromps an affectation of contempt for every thing belonging to a soldier was popular among sea-faring people, particularly of England and of the United States. Common sailors, generally an ignorant and illiterate class, it is well known, entertained a contemptuous opinion of marines and of all other soldiers; an opinion which was no doubt considered contemptible by the latter. "Sea-officers" is another designation of line officers in the navy; and those of the several grades below that of commander are spoken of as "watch-officers." and sometimes as "deck officers." Any officer of the line while in command of the watch, which is composed of all in the ship who are not at their respective posts of duty, is "the officer of the deck," who, for the time, may be regarded as the representative of the commander.

Officers who do not keep watch regularly on deck, whether of the line or not, are termed "idlers," a name which might lead to a belief that in the opinion of naval communities, keeping a watch on deck is the only vocation in a ship involving labor and deserving the name of work. In angry paroxysms, individuals have applied the term "idler" contemptuously and of course offensively; although it is well known that in its technical application it includes the commander and first or senior lieutenant. Officers of the staff departments, that is, the medical, the pay and provision, the engineer and several clerical departments, are termed, sometimes "non-combatants" and sometimes "civil officers."

any system, nor is it arranged with any regard to the meaning of words in common use among all classes of people. Some of the names are probably not perfectly understood throughout the naval service; most of them are indefinite, and it may be added all are, for this reason, inappropriate.

Let us begin with the name, "officers proper." The word officer, signifies in its limited acceptation, one who acts; and therefore, "officer of the navy" is one who acts, or performs some function in the navy by authority of the government, which function is described in a commission, that is, a patent, or the engrossed testimony that he may do certain things according to law, which all citizens may not do.

The word "proper" means peculiar; not common. It is not accurate, therefore, to denominate officers of the line "officers proper," because they are common and not peculiar. The term may have been invented, possibly, to convey a notion that officers of the line are essentially or peculiarly *the* officers of the navy *par excellence*, or that they are in fact the only officers in the navy, and that no other persons can be appropriately termed officers. If this surmise has any foundation, still the term is clearly incorrect, because naval organization necessarily includes other officers than those of the line.

All the various operations necessary to accomplish the true object of a military establishment, (army or navy,) namely, to fight triumphantly, are comprised in two divisions. One division includes only those who use, wield, manage, or manœuvre war-tools or weapons, the various implements contrived to destroy; they are the fighters, and, in military phraseology, constitute the line of an army or navy. This technical application of the word may have arisen from the arrangement of soldiers in lines or rows when about to engage in battle; or from the arrangement of the officers in a line of successive grades, each grade having assigned to it certain functions, and a degree of authority different from that of the one above or below it in the series. Without fighters an army could not be; they constitute the main and essential feature of an army, and, no matter how it came about, these fighters, military mechanics, (if the term mechanic is applicable to men who necessarily use physical instruments to perform their work,) constitute the Line. But your fighters, bold, brave and glorious as they certainly are, when closely examined are found to possess most of the attributes, strong and weak, common to all men. Heroes consume largely of the various kinds of nutritious materials which are essential to the maintenance of animal life and spirits in a condition of vigorous activity. Hence it is that this line, strong and bold as it may be, cannot stand alone; it requires a support, a something friendly to lean upon, and for this reason the government has provided it with a staff —a staff of many legs and branches so that it will afford support when leaned upon from almost any direction. The second division then, of an army, or navy, includes those who minister to the wants and supply all the means necessary to enable the line to fight. The duties of the staff divisions are to furnish pay, provisions and clothing, lodging, ammunition, arms and accoutrements to those of the line while in health, and, when sick or wounded, medical and surgical aid.

The line and staff are mutually dependent; one is not necessary without the existence of the other. Both are placed under the same laws, and for transgressing them, are alike punishable through the medium of the same tribunals. The labors of the line and staff have a common purpose which is purely and essentially military. Those who are comprised in a military organization, subject equally to military laws and military tribunals, whether they pertain to the line or to the staff divisions, are alike military men.

If these premises are true, and it is believed they are incontrovertible, it is surely incorrect to distinguish officers of the line by the term "officers proper," because these are no more "proper" or peculiar than officers of the staff.

The terms "Deck officers" and "Watch officers" may be readily admitted to be appropriate synonymes for officers of the line in the navy. But the name "sea officers" is vague. It may be applied to all officers whose vocation is exercised at sea without violating the proprieties of language. The masters and mates of merchant vessels, the officers of marines, and the officers of the several staff departments in the navy may be characterized as sea officers as well as the officers of the line. All officers in the navy are sea-officers; if they are not, they should be.

The term "idler," applied to those who do not keep watch at sea, even as a strictly technical word, is objectionable, because it conveys to the minds of people generally a notion of lazy worthlessness. Americans entertain no respect for idlers; among them idleness is looked upon as a fault. Noah Webster says an idler is "one who does nothing; one who spends his time in inaction, or without being occupied in business. A lazy person; a sluggard."

The word "non-combatant" is not found in Webster's great Dictionary of the English language. It has been long in use in the navy to designate those of the staff departments who do not necessarily use war-tools in the discharge of

their duties; and is applied to all who do not directly or immediately engage in conflict with a common enemy. The purser, although employed during battle in superintending the supply of ammunition to the battery, and the engineer upon whose steadiness and skill the issue of a fight in a steamer may depend, are styled non-combatants. The negative inference from this term is that no others than those of the line, during an action, contribute by their labors to the result of a combat between ships at sea. All military men are directly or indirectly combatants.

But of all these technicalities no one is more strikingly misapplied than the word "civil" to designate any class embraced in a military or ganization. Its definition is clear: CIVIL. Relating to the community, or to the policy and government of the citizens and subjects of a State; as in the phrases, *civil* rights, *civil* government, *civil* war, *civil* justice. It is opposed to *criminal;* as, a *civil* suit, a suit between citizens alone; whereas a criminal process is between the State and a citizen. It is distinguished from *ecclesiastical*, which respects the church; and from *military*, which respects the army and navy. The term is constantly used in contrast with *military;* as, *civil* hospital, *civil* service, *civil* list, "*civil* architecture; the architecture which is employed in constructing buildings for the purposes of civil life, in distinction from military and naval architecture, as private houses, palaces, churches, &c."

In contrast we have "Military. Pertaining to soldiers or to arms: engaged in the service of soldiers or arms; warlike, becoming a soldier: derived from the services or exploits of a soldier: conformable to the customs or rules of armies or militia."* It will not be denied that the naval service is military; and the duties differ from those of the army only because they are performed on board ship.

It is easy to perceive that a mental proclivity to copy and imitate the practices of the British naval service may have induced the statesmen who have presided over the Navy Department at Washington to fall into the erroneous use of the word "civil" to designate the staff in the navy. But it is not so easy to understand why the English should have perpetrated a blunder in their own official language, by describing the staff departments of the British navy, under the head of "Civil Branch of the Navy." We have corrected many of England's blunders in government; and we may also correct her blunders in language, unless we are bound to a servile imitation and copy of her Admiralty Lords' regulations for our own navy. Had our own national legislature originated a law for the government of the navy, it is not probable the term civil would have been used in it to describe any officers who are required to act conformably to the customs of military bodies. It never would have been necessary to explain, as it is now, that there are Civil officers who are civil officers according to the meaning of the Constitution of the government of the United States, such as are provided for in "The civil and diplomatic appropriation bills;" and military civil officers, or civil military officers, such as are provided for in the "Navy appropriation bills." There are, in a word, civil "civil officers," and military "civil officers," who are not "civil officers" according to the meaning of the word "civil" given in dictionaries.

To return from this digression: The assistant surgeon finding all his arguments and appeals in vain, preferred to remain on board rather than leave the ship by the port side, until the end of the cruise, a period extending over a year. Some months after he resigned his commission in disgust. The medical corps lost in that gentleman, who died several years since, one of its most efficient and accomplished members.

The anecdote which I heard from the Doctor himself, as well as from others, serves to show the pertinacity with which a rule of questionable propriety was enforced, and how a circumstance small and even absurd in itself may be made to destroy the mental peace of a gentleman included in the close, yet indefinite organization of the naval service. The application of the rule in this instance was more offensive because at that period it was enforced on board of a very few ships.

Still, the assistant surgeons felt aggrieved; and they believed that until they should obtain a definite position in the navy, they would be liable to petty annoyances of the kind, or subject to receive through a patronizing courtesy what they conceived they ought to have as a right.

About the period referred to an assistant surgeon found on joining a ship that the room which by custom belonged to him, was occupied by a passed-midshipman, who anticipated, however, that he would be called on to give it up, but determined to retain it if possible. The assistant surgeon represented the case to the captain, stating that he had no place for his clothing or books, nor even a berth for sleeping, and that the room or cabin which custom assigned him, was tenanted by a passed-midshipman. The vessel, a ship-of-the-line, put to sea on the very day the assistant surgeon joined her. The captain replied that if the assistant surgeon could point to any law or regulation from which it might be even inferred, he was entitled to a room on the orlop deck or in any other part of

* See Webster's Dictionary of the English Language.

the vessel, he would order the passed-midshipman to vacate in his favor. The result was, the assistant surgeon found nothing written to sustain his claim; and was indebted to the courtesy of his messmates for accommodation for his clothes, &c., which were distributed among them, and also for a place to sleep, until the ship had crossed the Atlantic.

It was such incidents, which were not of daily occurrence it is true, that revived the efforts of medical officers, begun in 1816, to obtain either by law or executive regulation, an assimilated rank which, according to the meaning of the term, would define their position in the military community.

In the year 1846, the Secretary of the Navy, George Bancroft, being satisfied that the petition was well founded, issued a general order on the subject; and the following year, John Y. Mason issued a similar order, assigning an assimilated rank to pursers; and under his administration of the Navy Department, assistant surgeons became established members of the ward-room mess. But the observance of these General Orders was avoided, or neglected, or resisted on various pretexts, pleas and reasons. Some contended that the orders were not clear; others that it was impossible to carry them out without confusion, and a considerable number took ground that the orders were unconstitutional, and, therefore, the Secretary of the Navy had no authority in the premises. There has been, in a manner, a verification here of the ancient French proverb:

> Contre fort et contre faux
> Ne valent ne lettres ne sceaux.

Virtually, the question remains to be decided by Congress, the members of which are placed in possession of the reasons for and against by those who advocate opposite views. Among the most absurd and unfounded arguments urged on the part of the line against the staff, is that the medical officers are seeking assimilated rank with a view to command in the line—to command ships and naval stations. Even the technical term assimilated rank has been regarded as dangerous; and one highly meritorious and distinguished gentleman has suggested that the word classification should be employed instead. He doubtlessly overlooks the fact that the words grade, rank, lineal rank, relative rank, assimilated rank in their military acceptation, are simply descriptive of positions occupied by individuals in the military profession; and are used to designate positions or classes in military classification or organization. That gentleman and those who concur with him believe that the position of every staff officer relatively to the line should be defined; but desiring to preserve to the line some kind of superiority which is vague and indefinite even in their own view, they assert that "it is not rank that staff officers need; what they want is classification"—"they could not use it if they had it," &c. Their remarks conduct us to an inference that the word rank implies something more than relative position in military authority, and imparts to those who occupy a position or rank in the line some kind of vague, caste distinction, which would be impaired by extending the word rank, no matter with what adjective qualification, to designate the position of staff officers.

Soon after the General Orders conferring an assimilated rank were issued, epaulettes were made a part of the official costume of medical officers and pursers, a badge or label of rank almost universally recognized in military communities. Opposition to assimilated rank and the wearing of its sign by staff officers was manifested by a number of line officers, who immediately petitioned the Secretary of the Navy to excuse them from wearing epaulettes. When called upon individually to assign reasons why their request should be granted, they could offer none which were deemed of any weight. Some gentlemen of the line expressed an opinion in conversation that since epaulettes were given to surgeons and pursers, it could no longer be regarded an honor to wear them. Indeed time has not yet entirely obliterated this prejudice which may be characterized as almost childish. Some few officers of the line have been so injudicious as to express in the street recently, while discussing the merits of the "uniform dress" lately adopted, that since every d—d purser and doctor could strut about under a pair of epaulettes, they wished the Secretary would take them away from the "sea-officers." Such expressions are indicative of the tone of feeling and opinion which has leavened the arguments brought against the establishment of assimilated rank. But it is hoped that a change is gradually taking place in the views heretofore entertained, and that these petty differences of opinion will be reconciled.

In this connection I will record a suggestion, to which I may recur again, that instead of employing gold in the manufacture of the various insignia and ornaments for the official costume of the navy, they might be made advantageously of platina, a metal which is not liable to change color by exposure to the various compound vapors of ships. The difficulty of preserving gold lace, gold embroidery, &c., from becoming tarnished and almost black on ship board is well known.

I say in deference and in all humility of opinion that the vague, uncertain, indefinite, irregular definitions attached to words in common use

in the naval service is at the bottom of most of the contention which has grown up from the claim of staff officers to an assimilated rank. Premises have been assumed which cannot be maintained by logic or argument; consequently, they are untrue, and the deductions from them are without force or value. This in itself is unimportant; but it is to be regretted, because men are prone to become irritated and angry when beaten in argument; and they sometimes attempt to supply the deficiencies of their facts and logic, by attacking the persons or characters of their opponents, or what is less ingenious, by heedlessly mis-stating the points at issue for the purpose of exerting an influence on the minds of legislators. The effect is to mar the harmony which should exist between the line and staff, because, in fact, a common object and common interests bind them together. Dissentions and disagreements which are long entertained weaken the influence of any community or corporation in which they are permitted to exist; and in time may end in destroying not only its efficiency and power, but its existence also.

This question should have been settled long since; but it is clear to my mind that whatever evil may have come to the navy from its agitation, it is not chargeable on the staff. Staff officers have presented their claims again and again, and although admitted to be reasonable, they have never been satisfied in any appreciable degree. It is believed, it has always been in the power of the line to adjust all the points connected with the subject, because the staff, while seeking an assimilated rank which would be protective in its effects, has not desired to acquire power or right to control or direct beyond the limits off staff duties, or in any manner encroach upon any duty or right pertinent exclusively to line officers. But the line has been pleased to act on other views, until staff officers in self defence have been provoked to bring the question before the public, and enlist the active sympathies of influential citizens. The whole medical profession of the Union has, in its annual conventions, expressed its opinion; and in some degree at least has made the cause of the medical officers of the navy in the premises its cause, which will be pressed upon the attention of Congress until a fair decision is obtained, whether agreeable to the line or not.

CHAPTER XV.

Santa Casa da Misericordia—Orphan Asylum—Foundling Hospital—Population of Rio de Janeiro—Charity of Roman Catholics—Medical education—Medical practitioners—Courts martial—Character of sailors—Progress of Rio de Janeiro.

May 12th. Visited several of the public charities. The Santa Casa da Misericordia, founded in the year 1582, is a charity hospital of sufficient extent to accommodate about 400 beds. Without distinction of country, color, religion or sex, all who are sick and in want are admitted without question. The patients are supplied with good medical and surgical attendance, diet, medicines and lodging. It is of course resorted to by the miserable and destitute, and they find relief, though the furniture and provision for them are of the plainest kind. The institution seems to be well managed and is cleanly kept.

It is endowed and its annual income is about 188,580,666 reis, equal to about $95,000; and its ordinary expenses are about $65,000. Recently the building has been repaired, and considerably extended at a cost of about $70,000. The number of patients admitted is about 5.000 every year, of which nearly one fourth die. The interments in the Campo Santo or Potter's field connected with the institution for the year 1847, were 1,535 free persons and 1,839 slaves, or an aggregate of 3,374.

Connected with this establishment is an Orphan Asylum, commenced in the year 1739, which is maintained at annual cost of about $15,000. The number of orphans in it varies from 40 to 50. They are received at all periods of minority, and when they attain a proper age the males are taught trades, and the girls, when they marry, receive a small dower to enable them to begin the world. The marriage portion may have some influence in procuring husbands for these parentless maidens. A considerable proportion of the inmates of the Orphan Asylum are transferred from another branch of this "Holy House of Mercy,"—the Foundling Hospital, which seems to carry on an extensive business. n the year 1847, the number admitted on the wheel was 594; many of them had been badly treated, some were at the point of death, and 17 were actually dead; and they were of ages from a few days up to even eleven years old. During the year 228 were discharged, 360 died, and 91 remained in the house, besides 467, between the ages of 7 and 8. who were boarding at the charge of the hospital.*

This gives a proportion of nearly three foundlings yearly to every thousand of the population which is 170,000, as follows:

* See Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e industrial da Corte e Provincia do Rio de Janeiro. 1848. Annuario Politico do Brazil. 1848.

Brazilians, native or adopted,	60,000
Strangers, of all nations,	25,000
Slaves of every color and sex,	85,000
	170,000

These figures tell a story about the morality of the good people of Rio de Janeiro, which should not be compared with the morality of the United States in this respect, because we have no record to show precisely how many illegitimates, if any, exist among us. Setting aside the religious view of the subject, the question may be asked, and considered simply in relation to legislative policy, what influence does the existence of a Foundling hospital exercise on the community? The argument most prominent in favor of such an institution, is that it removes all the motives which are supposed to lead to the perpetration of infanticide, and thus far contributes to the augmentation and preservation of population, which is the measure, all things being equal, of national strength. For this last reason, legislators have always endeavored to enact laws, the tendency of which is to encourage the holy institution of marriage. Among the effects of this common endeavor has been the creation of a public opinion, a public sentiment which discountenances bastardy, and degrades women in social estimation when, through persuasion or force, they become mothers without legal or religious sanction. A female thus unfortunate receives no sympathy from her own sex; not one connives at her error by silence, or utters one word in pity or in extenuation; she is doomed to shame and to feel that the finger of scorn or condemnation is pointed at her and follows her through life. This castigation has no limit, and to a sensitive mind may be intolerable; and rather than attempt to endure it, the miserable woman in her anxiety to preserve social approbation or character, may seek to hide a monstrous offence by perpetrating the darkest crime. At the moment she determines to murder her own child, maternal fondness, one of the wisest of Nature's boons, succumbs in an agonizing conflict with love of approbation, often cultivated to excess, and the woman no longer comprehends the wickedness of the deed she contemplates; the fear of God is lost in an irrational dread of social censure.

Maternal love is not contingent upon social contrivance. The attraction which binds the mother to her offspring, has no dependence upon statutory or conventional rules; it is as much an attribute derived from natural cause as the fountain of liquid nourishment prepared under physiological laws to appease the hunger of the new born animal. The expression of maternal instinct or affection may be stifled by fear of reprobation, and yet the instinct be not extinguished; even where priestly work and ceremony have not made ready the soil.

The rules of society are somewhat responsible for the cruel dilemma in which women find themselves, when they forget the conventional customs established for the protection of their innocence, and yield to false promises under the most bewitching influence that sways humanity in its youth. Departure from the moral code should not be encouraged; but we are not forbidden to pity the frailties and misfortunes of our fellow-beings? For certain unfortunates, a foundling hospital is an institution of mercy, because it opens a way to save life, and to shield them from endless degradation: but it does not take away the fear of shame, encourage a repetition of the error, or release them from penitential suffering. Who appreciates the distress of an unhappy mother while she stealthily, at a silent hour of the night, approaches the friendly wheel, to deposit upon it her first-born, to be conveyed away from her embrace forever to hired hands? Who sympathizes with her heart's tumult while she beholds the wheel turning from her with what might have been a treasured blessing if man had been but true: or while she pursues the dark road from the hospital, where her heart is, to her home where her peace is no longer, for she must now strive to hide her sorrow in an assumed deportment of content? She will never see her infant smile in its mother's face; yet, she hopes and believes that it thrives under the care of some strange nurse, even though it may have died. Surely even a most wanton fault is somewhat expiated by such mental anxieties.

The frailties and imperfections of humanity, particularly those which spring from physiological condition, may be in some degree provided for. A foundling hospital is a result of Christian mercy and of Chirstian pity, and is an institution, it is believed, peculiar to Christian communities. While it is a monument of Christian charity, it is a record of human weakness. It is true our notions do not, at least in Philadelphia, countenance such an institution by name, though it exists in fact. The newspapers occasionally announce that infants deposited at the doors of citizens have been conveyed to the alms-house. Such an institution seems to be necessary in every populous city; and its existence ought not to exert an influence prejudicial to morality to as great an extent as penitentiaries and jails, which are established to protect society from the acts of the vicious and violent. I confess that at first, the existence of a foundling hospital seemed to me a proof of laxity of morals as well as of female impurity in the city of Rio de Janeiro; but further examination has induced a belief that such an

inference is unjust and unphilosophical. The existence of a prison does not increase the number of criminals; the existence of a foundling institution is not likely to render women indifferent to the chances of deception and shame; on the contrary it may stand like a gibbet to warn against indulgence of passion.

The hospital of Pedro II., founded in 1841, embraces a department for the treatment of the insane: the number under treatment averages about forty annually.

The whole of this hospital establishment is under the direction of a holy brotherhood—irmandade da Misericordia—and is supported by the extensive revenues of the fraternity, assisted by the profits of two lotteries every year, and bequests from private individuals. There is in this institution an example of the practical charity which constitutes a prominent feature of the Roman Catholic religion. There is no religious sect of Christians who give more liberally, or attend more faithfully to the wants of the poor, the afflicted, the wretched and the destitute. In deed, the Roman Catholics are a charitable, an alms-giving people in all countries, and in this respect there is no sect or denomination of Christians who do so much to alleviate affliction. Who has not heard of the Sisters of Charity? We find no similar sisterhood belonging to any other christian sect than the Roman Catholic.

In the Misericordia I met an English woman in the capacity of nurse: she stated to me that she had resided in the hospital seventeen years at a monthly salary of ten milreis, about five dollars.

The military hospital, which I found in good order, contained one hundred and ninety-nine patients, belonging to that portion of the Brazilian army stationed in and about Rio.

Considerable attention is paid to medical education. The course of studies embraces all the branches and extends through a period of seven years. The effect of this long probation is to fill the metropolis with practitioners, while there is a dearth of them in the rural districts. Young men from the country, who enter the medical college, become attached to the capital by long residence, and after graduation seldom return to their homes. The system of medical education is exclusively French.

The medical faculty consists of a director and twenty-two professors, who seem to be divided so as to take up the students in classes of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh years.

According to a register before me for 1848, the city contains 178 practitioners of medicine, of which number 11 are homeopaths, besides 12 female practioners, 9 dentists and 76 apothecaries. Among them is a surgeon of the army who has the rank of lieutenant colonel. Besides all these of name and habitation, there is no doubt a full proportion of quacks and nostrum venders, who always find prey among the ignorant and credulous ever found in large populations.

The social standing of members of the medical profession in Rio de Janeiro, may be inferred from the care bestowed in securing professional knowledge. Thorough education and competent knowledge must attract respect from all who are able to appreciate the worth of skilful physicians and surgeons in a community. The length of time devoted to the study of medicine, seven successive courses of a year each, is strikingly in contrast with the three years' study generally required in the United States. It must not be forgotten that in a hot climate, more time is probably required for the accomplishment of the same work, than in temperate regions where men seem to enjoy much greater nervous endurance, and are capable of greater mental efforts, without unfortunate results to health. The labor of the brain, when pushed, rapidly exhausts the physical powers; and, if long continued, destroys health.

The science of human anatomy, which embraces all that can be known of the form and relations of the multitude of parts which constitute the human body; the science of human physiology which embraces the study of the actions or functions of these parts, separately as well as conjointly; the science of chemistry which studies the actions and reactions of matter, in its simple and compound conditions, and leads us to a knowledge of the composition of animal and vegetable and mineral materials, include only the elementary principles on which practical medicine and surgery are based. One who attempts to adjust displaced bones, remove diseased parts, or to obviate the destructive influence of wounds on life, without knowing the form, relations and functions of organs, is dishonest and unworthy of public confidence. The same remark applies to one who prescribes treatment for maladies without being able to distinguish one from the other, or without any adequate conception of the manner in which the nutrition and growth of the body are effected, or how various kinds of inanimate matter taken into the interior of the body, may modify the functions of its organs and its general condition. A worn bucket or a wash-tub, are confided to the cooper for repairs, for few have enough effrontery to assume a knowledge of his craft; few men who have not learned the art, have vanity enough to endeavor to replace a broken or dislocated wheel in a watch; but if a child or adult member of the family fall sick, he is freely confided to the influence of a nostrum, or the

untrained judgment of any one of the neighbors or friends who will suggest a remedy. Complicated and difficult as the laws of life in health and disease are admitted to be by all persons of thoughtful intelligence, a very great many persons in every community are ever ready to advise the means of restoring impaired or lost functions of organs to healthful action. Their ignorance renders them fearless; and they deal with poisonous remedies and disease with less diffidence than the best educated and most experienced physicians. They regard disease as an entity, a sort of malevolent spirit, possessed of depth and breadth and length and weight, which may be destroyed or expelled through means of a drug. They are unable to conceive that this notion is false, and all the reasonings based upon it are untrue; they cannot be made to understand that disease is merely an untoward modification of healthy action of an organ or organs—simply a condition. So long as people are ignorant enough to hazard life and health by accepting advice from any one who may volunteer to bestow it, so long will the various sorts of pretenders in the art of healing meet with encouragement and success. The homeopath who pretends that one ten millionth part of a grain of tobacco exerts more influence on the body than a nostril full of snuff, or mouthful of the best "Honey Dew," is not a greater impostor on credulity than those who pretended to ascertain from medial communication with the eternal soul of William Penn, that he was opposed to the political consolidation of the city and incorporated districts of Philadelphia. It is lamentable to see how falsehood and credulity conspire to delude and cheat the people in medicine, in surgery, in politics, and even in religion, and how little encouragement masses of men give to absolute truth and integrity.

For thirty years and more, the system of medical education pursued in the United States, has tended to lessen the amount of knowledge required by colleges to secure the diploma, a certificate to the public, that their alumni respectively were true men, worthy of confidence and trust in all things pertaining to the art and mystery of removing disease. Indeed, it is nearly thirty years since it was ascertained in the military services of the country, that the diploma of colleges is not a reliable document, and that this certificate, purporting to embody the testimony of trustees and professors, men elevated to their positions in consequence of their integrity and learning, could not be trusted. Hence the government, for once in advance of the knowledge of the day, disregarded the diploma, and employed only such persons in the medical department of the army and navy, as were pronounced competent by boards of experienced medical officers, appointed to examine them. In the early days of these examinations, not one-fourth of the candidates examined were found qualified, and even now not much more than one-half of the examinates are passed; yet, all or nearly all who present themselves are armed with diplomas or certificates to the public that they are fully instructed and capable to practice medicine and surgery as occasion may require.

Still the evil goes on. Medical schools are multiplied in almost every section of the Union; they resort to various means to attract the pupils, and in some instances. they rival each other in facility of granting diplomas. Such institutions believe they find both their renown and profit to be in proportion to the number rather than in the learning of their graduates. And this system is tending to lessen the respectability of the medical profession, and to encourage quackery, imposture and credulity; and the only hope of irradicating this state of things is in the American Medical Association, which will in time, perhaps, enlighten the public as to the true character of certain institutions which, under the pretext of teaching medical science, are obtaining money under false pretenses, and indirectly colluding to poison and kill innocent members of the community. If the influence of the respected and respectable members of the profession, prove unsufficient to protect the public from such impostors, a general law, inhibiting any person from practising medicine or surgery for profit, except by license obtained on the certificate of boards of examiners appointed by the Executive or Legislative authority of the States respectively, might be effectual. The profits of such a board should be independent of the result of the examination. Its members should look only to the interests of the community, and without fear or favor of candidates for license to practise.

Yet, it cannot be denied that, notwithstanding the evils and abuses to which our system is obnoxious, our country affords abundant facilities for the acquisition of medical science. A proof of this is seen in the skill of our physicians and the boldness and dexterity of our surgeons; they are not surpassed in any other country.

May 15th.—Dined with an English resident who has a cottage in the midst of a pretty garden, in a district called Larangeira. I went out in an omnibus drawn by four mules. A ticket secures a seat, so that the passengers are never crowded.

A few days since, a personal misunderstanding occurred between two gentlemen of the navy, at an evening entertainment. They exchanged angry words, and at one time the quarrel looked serious, but the difficulty was composed before

returning to their respective ships. Unfortunately, perhaps, the circumstance was so represented to the Commodore, that he determined the affair should be investigated before a Court-martial. One of the gentlemen belonged to a staff-corps, and the other to the line. According to custom, the court was composed of officers of the line exclusively; the staff had no representative in it. The investigation resulted in a reprimand to each.

Courts-martial are formed and conducted in a manner very much at variance and often in conflict with the rules which govern civil tribunals. A court may be convened by the accuser, who may also be a witness, as well as any member of the court detailed by him.

Naval courts-martial, under the Statute of April 23, 1800, "for the better government of the navy of the United States," may consist of any number not less than five nor more than thirteen members, who must be "officers;" and they must be of the class styled commissioned, because the act provides that "the senior officer shall preside, the others *ranking* agreeably to the *date of their commissions.*" The habitual construction is to form a court exclusively of commission officers of the line; commissioned officers of the staff departments are not detailed for this duty, though there is nothing in the letter or spirit of the law to prevent either medical officers, or pursers, or chaplains, from serving. About the year 1828 or 1829, Commodore Jacob Jones detailed a mixed court, which included medical officers and pursers for the trial of a seaman charged with the crime of murder. He was condemned and executed.

Besides the members, a court includes a Judge Advocate, whose duty is to keep a faithful record of the proceedings, and to the best of his knowledge, advise the court as to the law, and to secure the prisoner a fair trial. The judge advocate may be a citizen. It is not uncommon on foreign stations, to select a commodore's secretary, a surgeon, or a purser, for this duty.

The finding of courts-martial is determined by a majority of votes, except in cases involving loss of life, when a concurrence of two-thirds of the members present is required. The judge advocate has no vote.

The members and judge advocate swear to keep secret the opinions and votes of each other, and not divulge the sentence of the court until approved by the proper authority.

It is not pretended that courts-martial are, in fact, courts of justice; they are regarded rather as courts of discipline; and, for this reason, the common interests and subordination of the military body should be kept in view by the members in all cases. In other words, the effect of a sentence on the subordination and discipline of the ship or squadron, or of a post, is ever to be taken into consideration. It is on this principle, perhaps, that mildness or severity of condemnation is measured by the grade and rank of the accused; it is a very common notion in the service, among juniors especially, that a captain will be acquitted on charges which would cashier a midshipman, and that a private would be flogged for alleged faults, which a court would dismiss as frivolous if charged against a commission officer.

It has been tritely, though in some degree, truly said, "there is no law for post-captains." And it may be added, that the vigor of military law increases with inferiority until it descends to privates, who generally experience its full force. And such is likely to be the case, until the system is modified; until the antiquated and barbarous law of 1800 is remodelled so far as to harmonize with the spirit of the age. Is it not possible to devise a law which, while democratic in its general features, may be still sufficiently aristocratic to meet all the requirements of military discipline? Let those interested in the question, think well of it before answering.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten, that a captain occupies a position which is often beset by difficulties, which require judgment and skill to avoid. He may have associated under his command, naturally discontented or insubordinate spirits, who constantly watch his actions, for the purpose of discovering something to censure; or, some may be negligent, heedless, indocile, and if he should be intolerant of irregularities, he will be pretty sure to meet resistance of authority, and to find rebuke to beget recrimination. Men rarely possess sufficient virtue to recognize misconduct in themselves when pointed out; and even when convicted of faults, the spirit of subordination is rarely enough to induce them to submit to just censure or punishment. In a word, few men are competent judges of the propriety of their own conduct, if it be in the least degree defective. Many instances of officers who attempt to justify their own disobedience, might be cited; but it is most dangerous to military discipline to permit even the most brilliant success to excuse or palliate any violation of orders.

A naval or military community, large or small, includes two very distinct classes of men: a class of officers who are educated, intelligent, possessed of sensibilities quick to the influence of praise or censure, and governed generally in their conduct by sentiments of honor, truth and integrity. In fact, unless men have these attributes, they should be considered not qualified to hold a commission in military service, because the country cannot safely repose confidence and trust in any

who are not scrupulously observant of the highest code of morals in every respect. But unfortunately for theory, humanity is imperfect; men of defective moral constitution will, in spite of every precaution, become official associates of military bodies, and when admitted, it is often almost impossible to eject them. Yet this is not more true of military, than it is of religious organizations. Vicious, dishonest, untruthful men have, again and again, long held distinguished positions in every church, to the scandal of all right minded people. Delinquent bishops and priests are found among Christians of every denomination; but it is not to be inferred therefore the principles of Christianity are defective or in any measure responsible. The difficulty probably rests on the merciful forbearance, degenerating almost into a frivolous sentimentality, which it is the fashion to extend to evil doers of every grade and class. There is probably too little severity exercised towards delinquents and tricksters of every shade, who hold positions of trust, power, and patronage, as well as towards cheats, thieves, burglars and assassins, from the lowest walks of life. While such notions govern men in civil life in their conduct towards those who disregard legislative acts, as well as religious and moral laws, at the cost of peace, of property and of life, it is unreasonable to demand a higher tone among military officers. Still, it is hoped, the time is fast approaching when no exceptionable man can be retained in the officiality of the navy or army of the United States.

The other class above alluded to, includes privates of every grade and name. In the navy, they are drawn from the least intelligent and least cultivated of our fellow citizens; and from a notion that a rigid and exact administration of summary law and punishment, enabled the officers to control the most violent, vicious and disorderly, some of the very worst of men are found in the naval service, and placed there, too, through the agency or connivance of civil officers in our large cities. Often, muscular power and robust health are their sole qualification and recommendation. Still, there is a very large proportion of true-hearted, brave and respectable men, who only lack cultivation and knowledge to make them equal to the best. Among them are men of rude manners and rough exteriors, whose truth and integrity are beyond contamination; yet these brave fellows are exposed to injustice and imposition through the system which makes them mess-mates and companions of such as are only fit to be inmates of jails and penitentiaries.

The character of sailors is not commonly understood by citizens, who seem to imagine that peculiarities are acquired from living very much at sea. The fact is that it is eccentricity, or some blemish of mental or moral constitution, which leads men to prefer the inconvenience and dangers of a life on the ocean, to the more stable vocations on shore. Thriftless people, who lack entirely the power of self-control and require superintendence of others, find the profession of a seaman congenial to their careless, heedless, improvident dispositions. It is not unusual for men to make a three years' cruise and return home with three or four hundred dollars in cash, which they squander in the most absurd and wanton manner in a week. Their lavish expenditure for the time passes for generosity, a virtue which is not common amongst them; for these very men during a cruise, resort to various expedients, and often manifest a most miserly passion, to accumulate money, to spend in the gratification of the lowest propensities of our nature. They are attracted by all the vices, without the least power of resistance, and possess so little intelligence that they fall an easy prey to any one who chooses to plunder them of their hardly earned wages, by catering to their lusts and vicious inclinations. Yet, under these defects of character, we find many excellent qualities. It is not uncommon to find men who, while they do not hesitate to pilfer and lie, are yet as true as steel in the hour of difficulty and danger; who will fearlessly risk their own lives to succor a fellow being in peril; men who would not betray a messmate under any circumstances, and whose conduct is thus far strictly honorable among themselves, but at the same time false to others. To cheat a rogue is, in their estimation, commendable; but to defraud one who is considered a good-fellow, is disgraceful. But such characteristics are not necessarily the offspring of the sea; they have their origin and acquire their full growth on shore. It may be said in a word, that ignorant men who are naturally thriftless and prodigal; men entirely destitute of business capacity, and living an uncertain, precarious life, and the same time possessed of active, warm temperaments, form the class of common sailors. Hence it is that they very rarely accumulate property, or grow rich.

It will be perceived a man-of-war is indeed a microcosm, which embraces all the virtues and vices, common to men in every situation of life, which require to be restrained and encouraged according to their moral condition and conduct. The objects for which they are employed and paid, require prompt and almost unlimited obedience to legal authority.

The mode of controlling such a heterogeneous company, without brutalizing, is difficult to devise. Is the present court-martial system best, all things considered, to attain the object in view; or is it susceptible of improvement without haz-

ard to discipline? It is certain that a tribunal for the adjudication of questions growing out of the infraction of law, is as necessary on board ships-of-war, as in communities on land. Authority to control and chastise to a limited extent, may properly rest in an individual, the captain; but it is not necessary that he should be legally an autocrat to decide all questions which may arise. Tribunals or courts of some kind are necessary. They should embrace all the intelligence and moral character the community can command. For this reason, it is wise that the members of the highest tribunal should be selected from the grades of commissioned officers exclusively. It is presumable that, with few exceptions, all have acquired, from experience, the general knowledge of military discipline, necessary to enable them to investigate cases which involve infraction of military laws. The functions of members of courts-martial, are analogous to those of jurymen in cases in which they are called upon to assess damages; they are required to determine as to the facts of a cause, and then to form a sentence accordingly, under the provisions of law. If this position is true, and the writer has no doubt that it is, commission officers of the staff-departments, as well as those of the line, may be competent and efficient members of military courts. It cannot be maintained in objection, that staff-officers are not military men, and therefore, ignorant of the importance of discipline and subordination. It is not supposable that a man of intelligence and general information can pass ten or fifteen years of life, in close association with military acts, and participating in them, without acquiring all the military knowledge requisite to appreciate disobedience, negligence, or disrespect to superiors, which constitute nine times out of ten the gist of the charges submitted to courts for investigation. Surely medical officers, chaplains, pursers and engineers, are as capable to determine what constitutes offences against morals, such as drunkenness, falsehood, theft, &c., as officers of the line? In criminal cases they would be as able to determine on facts and to apply the law, as any other commissioned officers. For these and other considerations, the practice of proscribing staff-officers in the navy from participating in the constitution of courts-martial, is unreasonable, and is not sanctioned either by the letter or spirit of the existing law. It is not consonant to the spirit of our civil institutions, that any class should be proscribed from representation in our courts of justice; though some classes may be excused from serving on juries, no one is considered positively ineligible to those duties. Lawyers and physicians are always excused from common jury duties, on account of their professional connections and relations to the community, but they are not proscribed as ineligible, or as incompetent. We recognise no such caste distinctions on land, and why should we in the navy, recognise any one class of grades as exclusively fitted, to aid in the administration of law? There is nothing in the nature of the vocation or pursuits of officers of the line, to qualify them above all others in the service, to appreciate the value of evidence in any case whatever; and nothing in the vocations of staff-officers to unfit them to perceive the force of testimony, and to arrive at just conclusions from the statements of witnesses. On the contrary, it is the constant habit of most staff officers, to study the value of testimony. The chaplain is constantly employed, while studying theology, in examining evidence relative to the facts of Christianity; the physician learns in pursuit of science and philosophy, and in distinguishing diseases, to understand the nature and value of testimony, and the engineer and purser, in their respective vocations, are more or less trained in observation and rational comparison of facts.

In the constitution of courts-martial, intelligence and knowledge should be sought, not in one grade or class solely, but from every grade; because the intelligent of all grades should feel a common interest in the administration of law, and in preserving proper discipline in the service. If it were habitual to select judge advocates from any one grade in the navy, it would probably be advantageous, because it would have the effect to direct the attention of officers of that grade to the subject of military law, and to induce them to study carefully the mode of conducting trials before military tribunals. It would make the functions of judge advocate virtually a part of their official duty, and they would feel in honor bound to study and become acquainted with the rules of legal evidence, and all other points relating to management of courts-martial.

There is a feature of courts-martial of very questionable propriety. I mean the sworn secresy as to the opinion of the members of the court, because it removes, in a great degree, individual responsibility for views and arguments used, and strengthens any one who should attempt to influence the court, to gratify personal unfriendliness to a prisoner at the bar. The oath of secresy was doubtlessly designed to prevent personal feuds, growing out of differences of opinion between the accused and his judges, at some period subsequent to trial; but it is believed, that jurors and judges in civil life require no such protection to a frank expression of opinion after formal investigation, and they never hesitate through personal fear, to condemn where condem-

nation is proper. It is enough that questions are decided by ballot, instead of a viva voce vote. Where members of a court are thus sworn to secresy, there is a chance that the trial will not be open and fair for the accused.

Under the present law, courts-martial in the navy have a discretion, which is too wide and indefinite; and this is a chief reason why decisions in like cases differ so widely from each other. As already suggested, in a previous note and commentary, there should be a classification of faults, offences and crimes, distinguishing those which are military from those which are moral; and a corresponding classification of punishments should be devised, and all embraced in the statute. Military offences might be expiated, but in a military community, there should be no expiation for a clearly dishonorable act. Falsehood, for example, once proved, should forever proscribe an officer from the confidence of the government, and no punishment short of dismissal, should be considered an expiation of the crime. Yet, it is believed there are instances of officers who have been convicted of stating officially what they knew to be not true, who, after punishment by suspension from duty for a time, have been again called into active service by the government, seemingly on a footing of equality with the most exemplary officers in the navy. I do not mean to imply censure to the navy department, because the theory is, that when an offender has submitted to the punishment legally awarded, the law has no further claim against him on account of the offence. To adopt a different view in practice, would place the department in the aspect of assuming judicial functions, and exercising them in a spirit of cruelty and persecution. The fault lies in the existing statute and in the too lenient administration of it, perhaps, by the court.

Besides the General Court Martial, an inferior tribunal, such as a ship's or capstan court, or drum head court for the examination of petty offences, would be an advantage. A court consisting of three commissioned officers, sitting like judges in banc, in connection with a jury of five or seven drawn from the crew might possibly serve a good purpose. The jury, by a mere majority vote, should decide as to to the facts from testimony, and the court determine the application of the law, which should award the punishment. The effect of allowing men in the humblest stations in the ship to thus participate in the administration of law would be to increase their self-respect and give them a new motive to distinguish themselves, by becoming conduct, in order to merit employment as jurors.

The court of inquiry, which also belongs to the system of military jurisprudence, is simply inquisitorial in its functions, like a Grand Jury, and is instituted to ascertain, in doubtful cases, whether there are grounds for trial. In cases of shipwreck, for example, it is always desirable that a formal investigation of the causes of loss should be had in order that the professional attention and skill of the captain and officers may not be improperly represented by common report.

May 16th. I first visited this harbor about twenty-two years ago, and improved my acquaintance with it in several subsequent visits. Few changes have taken place; the town and hills seem to be no older now than when I first beheld them. There is less noise of church bells and salutes; and illuminations and explosions of fireworks are less frequent than in the days of Pedro I. Yet the spirit of improvement is manifest. Many of the rude, yet picturesque ferry-boats, with their tall latine sails, have given place to those iron evidences of civilization--steamboats. The ferry-boats between Rio de Janeiro and Praya Grande, and between Botofogo and the city, are now propelled by steam. This handy work of man seems to be an intrusion amidst naturally beautiful scenery. The rude boat and sail harmonized better with the poetry of the place, than the little black English built steamers which disturb the tranquillity and startle away the flamingoes, by the wheezing and puffing of their engines and the splash of their wheels. There is no romance about steamboats and rail cars, except in elopement cases; the ingenious literary are called upon to invent new figures of speech and comparison to meet this new state of things. The black smoke of a pigmy steamer rising from the tranquil surface of the waters of Botofogo is not advantageously contrasted with the fleecy clouds rolling up the mountain sides, like the mists of the morning, hanging gently above the heads of the Pão da Açucar and Corcovado, standing in silent strength and grandeur. The steamer, though a convenient and time-saving machine, is a blot in the beauty of the scene.

The Brazilians deserve commendation for observing those rules of architecture which require buildings to be in harmony with nature and the climate. The red tile roof with pointed eaves, blue enamelled entablatures, or variegated in colors; the yellow walls and close green trellis work of the shutters, or the gaily painted walls of the houses and gardens; bright colored iron railings; beautiful gateways; the motley arranged shell-work borders of flower plots and statues mingled with tropical foliage under a tropic sun produce views as gaudy as the most skilful theatrical scene-painter ever imagined.

To the young, with heart and mind new to the world, Rio de Janeiro is a fairy land, provided

you have no repugnance to the sight of half naked negroes, and are deaf to the song of the slave or crack of the driver's lash, or are indifferent to the equality of people of all colors, and perceive no caste distinctions in the hue of the skin,—provided there is no question of slavery. I am told a slave dare not wear shoes, because they are a badge of freedom: they may wear silks if they can procure them, but not shoes.

But it must not be inferred that Brazilians are harsh masters from what is observed in the streets here. The slave-drivers are employed by the government to keep at work those slaves who have been sentenced to labor to expiate crimes. Gangs of them are often seen, sometimes wearing irons.

CHAPTER XVI.

Italian Naturalist; Lapidary; Feather Flowers; Society; Character and appearance of ladies; A Soirée; Education; Religion; Character of Brazilians; Currency; Bank; Mint; Influence of European politics on Brazilian trade; A singular mode of arbitration; Witnesses in capital cases; Social qualifications necessary to diplomatists; Sail from Rio; General View of Brazil; Navy.

I visited, one day, the sanctum of an Italian naturalist, or rather collector of bugs, beasts, birds and snails. This man has resided some years at Rio, and manages to make his bread by selling specimens of natural history to the numerous strangers who visit this place. Amongst the English, the mania for these things is most enthusiastic, and they pay accordingly; the prices demanded are exhorbitant, because the specimens have not always the merit of being new, that is, hitherto unknown to the scientific christeners of the individuals of the natural kingdoms. To his avocation of collector, this Italian unites that of portrait painter and picture dealer; but in this line, I am not a judge, and cannot venture to praise his wares. The variety and contrasting beauties of the numerous insects, the horrible size and speckled colors of the serpents, and the number of land shells found in the neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro, were the chief objects of admiration. The man told me he kept a dozen slaves constantly abroad collecting and preparing objects of natural history. The number of those things constantly carried away for the public museums and private cabinets of Europe, is so great, that I do not wonder at the high prices obtained for them; my only astonishment is, that the neighborhood continues to supply the demand.

From the Italian's I went to the house of a lapidary, and, on the way, passed through the "Rua dos Plateros," wherein all workers in silver make and display their wares; whether the same reasons which brought all the goldsmiths in London to Cheapside in time of Edward III. operated in the present case, I am not informed. At the lapidary's, we saw a variety of minerals, principally of the gem family, in form of native crystals, or cut for setting. The white topaz, called in Brazil "nova mina," *gout d'eau*, is very beautiful, and by those who are not skilled in the matter, may be mistaken for diamond. Amongst other gems exhibited, were quantities of topaz, aqua marine, honey-stone, opals, moonstones, (a variety of feldspar,) tourmalins, (Brazilian emeralds,) rubies, garnets, amethysts, &c., &c., besides pretty pieces of native gold.

One day we visited the shop of a polite little Frenchwoman, who is a florist, in one sense, for she manufactures flowers of birds' feathers, and insects' wings. She showed us all we thought curious in her shop, in which several slaves were at work, removing the wings of insects, and preparing them to be made into flowers. Most of the insects used for this purpose are of those species which have hard wings; in different lights they assume an endless variety of iridescent shades. They also enter into the manufacture of jewelry, in form of brooches, ear-rings, bracelets, &c., set in fine gold, forming very light and beautiful ornaments, some of them even rivaling, in display of colors, the flashing opal. Flowers are composed of feathers of their natural colors, and the varieties they are made to represent is surprising; they are arrayed in simple bouquets, crowns, and wreaths for dresses. Sometimes artificial humming-birds are placed among the flowers, which being made *tremblante*, as the florist said, possess a very natural appearance.

The number of dead insects and birds' skins in this shop was very great. When perfect specimens are brought in by the collectors, they are disposed of to amateurs to be placed in cabinets of natural history.

Of the native society of Rio, my own experience enables me to say but little. The ladies have a reputation for abstemiousness which, I am informed by an old resident, they do not merit. They eat more heartily, and partake of a much larger quantity of Lisbon wine, than is usual with ladies either in Europe or North America. But they are affectionate wives, obedient daughters, and possess very amiable manners. They are in every respect as exemplary in their conduct as the same classes in Europe and in the United States. Foreigners are debarred from their society in a great degree by not speaking the language; but in the circles of the educated and intelligent, French is very generally spoken, and strangers who have gained admittance to them do not complain of the pleasure or attentions received. Ever since the reformation of the political constitution in the time of Dom Pedro I., more attention has been paid to education than previously, and as a consequence, the tone of society will improve.

The ladies of Brazil are remarkable for fairness of complexion, elasticity of step, fine figure, soft black hair, regularity of features, and melting dark eyes; but wanting the rosy blush of health, the physiognomy is incomplete. This is attributable partly to climate, partly to dietetic habits, and partly to the customs of society. The soft rotundity of limb and person may be owing to the effects of diet and climate, aided by passing their lives in luxurious ease and inactivity. They seldom appear abroad; time, and a more free intercourse with foreigners, will break down the absurd notion of secluding females from the gentle airs of heaven and the cheering light of the sun. That the climate has a powerful effect on feminine beauty in Brazil, is proved by the fact, that young ladies from Europe as well as from the United States, in the course of a year or two after their arrival, lose the roses from their cheeks, and acquire the soft, blond complexions of the Brazilian fair.*

*Manual do Fazendiero. Rio de Janeiro, 1834.

One evening I attended a musical *soirée*, and heard some pieces of the best composers well performed. The ladies were seated altogether in close rows, as if at a public concert, and so closely packed, that it was impossible to pass between them; a nod, a smile or a familiar threat of a fan, was therefore all the recognition the beaux could obtain from the belles. The quantity, brilliance and costliness of the jewelry, were remarkable—necklaces of diamonds on fair, and of green tourmalin (Brazilian emerald,) or topaz, or amethyst, on brunette bosoms, are pretty enough when the wearer happens to be young; but artificial flowers made entirely of brilliants, in the heads of dark skinned dowagers of forty and upwards, though rich in their look, are not to our taste. Finger-rings, bracelets, aigrettes and ear-rings, of every variety of gem, were worn in profusion; one might imagine that the contents of a jeweler's shop had been emptied in a promiscuous shower upon the company.

Of course the rooms were oppressively warm; but thanks to the enterprize of our countrymen, and their benevolence in caring for the comforts of their fellow beings in all parts of the world, they were tempered by a plentiful supply of ices, a luxury which the Brazilians have derived from the United States. Ice creams are sold at the cafés, made of New England ice, brought here in American ships.

Music was not the only attraction nor the only source of pleasure offered. There were cards for those gentlemen who had no ears for sweet sounds, and about midnight, dancing for the young, and towards day-dawn a plentiful supper was spread, so that all tastes were cared for. Garlic, fat olives, and oil, entered largely into the composition of most of the native dishes; but our host had hospitably provided turkeys, fowls and ham, served up in a style to suit the palates of his foreign guests, leaving us no cause of complaint. The orange, the banana, the guava, the pine-apple, &c., were among the fruits, and all were delicious. The wines were pure and old; and the table was adorned with many flowers unfamiliar to the ultra-tropic eye.

As already stated, the Brazilians have devoted much attention to education, and now, almost without exception, well-bred Brazil-

ians speak French. The literature of France is generally diffused among them. French medicine and medical theories prevail exclusively; even the medical text books of the colleges are French. The change which has taken place in the past thirty years in public opinion on female education, is very remarkable in its effects. Formerly, women were regarded as toys, and therefore had no necessity for education beyond that which enabled them to read prayers in church. Now, however, ladies speak French, are musicians, and are skilled in ornamental needlework; plain sewing is left to the better class of slaves and French mantua-makers. In consequence of this change, ladies have come to occupy a higher position in Brazilian society, and are regarded as suitable companions for men.

Religion is not much insisted on by the Brazilians. It is a common remark that almost all the priests and monks, in spite of their vows of celibacy, have families; their sons and daughters are termed nephews and nieces. The physiological laws of man's organization are more potent than the conventional rules of the church. Bastardy seems to be a recognized condition of society; I have seen several medical theses in print by authors who announce themselves as the legitimate sons of persons named. I am told that deism, and even atheism exist to a very great extent. The clergy are paid small salaries; they receive fees for marriages, births, baptisms and burials. The Bishop of Rio has an annual salary of only about twelve hundred dollars.

Sunday shines no Sabbath day at Rio, being confined within the walls of convents and churches, venturing no farther into the open air than the steps and belfreys, where squibs and rockets are fired, which constitute a considerable part of the religious ceremony. Many shops, the fancy stores particularly, are open, and most things may be purchased as well on the Sabbath as on any other day. But having no show-windows, as in Philadelphia and New York, the goods are displayed at the doors, and therefore not to advantage. There are now more ladies met in a morning than formerly. They generally go abroad in black, with the hair dressed and without bonnets, simply shaded by a parasol. A remnant of the ancient fashion of wearing long trains to the gowns, is sometimes seen, but worn gracefully over the left arm, instead of being borne by an attending slave, or left draggling in the mud. Street-sweeping skirts must have been invented to conceal the feet, and thus, perhaps, annul the necessity of wearing stockings, or to keep out of sight undarned rents in those appendages of costume?

The Brazilians are a passionate people, but they are neither malicious nor revengeful. They are cheerful and placid in their general deportment, usually confiding and unsuspicious. Men of business did not formerly think of charging interest for the use of even large sums of money for a few days, or even weeks, but the Anglo-Saxons have taught them that it is proper to look to their interest account. They have an undefined repugnance to foreigners. They are opposed to immigration, because they fancy that foreigners would, if here in large numbers, take away from them entirely, all power in controlling the affairs of the country. They feel the want of laborers and mechanics, but they will not encourage foreign immigrants. They prefer slaves and the slave-trade, although they do not find capital thus invested to be productive. In fact, some of the coffee-planters lose on large crops even when sold at fair prices. It is said that negroes on the coffee plantations are shorter lived than those who work on the sugar estates, which is the reverse of Cuba and other islands of the West Indies. Brazilians are said to be kind to their slaves.

The laws of Brazil do not permit imprisonment for debt, and it is next to impossible by law to force an unwilling debtor to pay; still credit is given for four, eight and twelve months, and even two years, but the state of public opinion is such that failure to meet pecuniary engagements of this kind is rare.

The currency of Brazil is constantly fluctuating in value. It consists exclusively of irredeemable treasury paper and copper. It is reckoned in mills, called "reis." The smallest coin is a vintem, or twenty reis; there is a coin of eighty reis, equal in weight to four American cents, called often by foreign sailors "dumps." The patacoon or mil-rei, of silver, is nominally one thousand

reis, but is marked 960, and is worth forty reis or mills less than the dollar. The object of this depreciation was to prevent the exportation of specie; but it was soon found that the patacoons were exported at the nominal value, and afforded a profit of forty mills on each. The patacoon is divided in three patacs of sixteen vintems, or 320 reis each; but there is no coin of this denomination in circulation. Four hundred reis or twenty vintems, make one "cruzado," and one thousand millreis or patacoons make one "conto." When we arrived, silver dollars were worth 1,820 mills in paper, but they have risen to 2,050 mills: it is conjectured that paper will still fall and silver appreciate in proportion, until the political state of Europe is settled.

I heard remarks by an experienced merchant here on the subject of the currency. He submitted that the treasury should coin all the silver which comes into its possession in pieces of small denomination, because it would secure small coin for the common daily traffic, and not be likely to accumulate in the hands of speculators. It would be very difficult if not impossible, for example, to collect in New York or Philadelphia, five thousand dollars in dimes and half-dimes. It would be more profitable to buy exchange at a handsome premium, than to be at the cost and labor of such collections. There is a "banco commercial," but it has not a right to issue notes. It is a discount bank exclusively, and charges a premium for taking care of deposits. Merchants require a bank of discount, issue and deposit, in order to facilitate commercial transactions. A bank of this kind, limited in the rate of dividend on its stock, would be entirely worthy of confidence. It was argued that the sub-treasury system of the United States must be embarrassing to men of business, because it requires duties to be paid at the custom house in specie. It is a good day's work to count ten thousand pieces of coin; it would therefore require a whole day to count $40,000 in five dollar pieces, and four days in dollars. The number of clerks in the custom house must therefore be augmented; and, therefore, the sub-treasury system must be an unnecessarily expensive method of collecting the revenue. A bank whose paper is equivalent to specie, would save labor and expense.

The Brazilian government possesses all the necessary apparatus for coining, but the minister of finance states in a recent report, that persons capable of working it are wanting.

May 17th.—After dinner to-day we rowed round the island of Cobras, which is within an eighth of a mile of the city. A fortress sadly in want of repairs covers it, and on the outside of the walls are buildings for the safe-keeping of stores for the navy, which are thus under the protection of the guns of the fort.

The condition of Europe exerts a powerful influence on the commercial world here. When disturbed by great political changes, or a prospect of them, business is tardy because shippers of coffee to Hamburg, France or Italy, are reluctant to confide their property to European consignees who may be, possibly, rendered bankrupt by political revolutions. Here coffee is the great article of export. Farmers depend on the sale of it to obtain cash for their various necessary purchases; if coffee will not sell, they are without means. The rich are afraid to buy or make investments, and those who have goods are anxious to convert them into money.

At the Porton Vermelho to-day, we had a conversation with an English resident, who related that one of his friends had been forced, while in the country, to act as arbitrator, on a point in dispute between some rude Brazilians. They placed him in a barrel at the head of a flight of stairs. The parties then stated the case and argued it warmly. One brandished a club over his head, declaring he should feel the weight of it, if he should dare to decide the case against him. The other party made a similar threat, adding that he would roll him, barrel and all, down stairs, if the decision was not in his favor. The forced judge was in great consternation, because it was plain he was to be beaten, if not murdered, no matter how he might decide. At the moment seeing two police officers pass, he called upon them to release him, but they were alarmed by the angry contention of the parties, and crying out, "they will murder him; let us not witness the act," took to their heels. Their conduct was not a result of fear or want of

humanity; in capital cases, the witnesses are incarcerated, as well as the criminal, until the trial is completed. The forced judge escaped from his awkward predicament, by suggesting a compromise, which was accepted by the parties.

A few nights since, a gentleman found a man who had been stabbed, in the street. He reported the case to the police, who urged that he should carry the wounded man to the hospital, because said they, we cannot go near him on your report. Had we ourselves found him, we should have been obliged to do so.

These anecdotes are illustrative of some of the remarkable notions which exist among these people.

We have an abundance of mosquitoes on shore, and more than are contentedly borne on board ship. A lump of camphor suspended in a state-room or cabin, causes them to desert the apartment.

An old resident remarked to me that although Brazilians are great consumers of cigars, gentlemen never smoke in the streets; none but artizans and shopmen smoke in the public highways of the city. From this circumstance, all foreigners seen with cigars in their mouths when walking the streets, are presumed to belong to inferior classes in their respective countries.

The same gentleman expressed his opinion, that only those gentlemen who can speak French fluently, should be employed to represent us in a diplomatic capacity in Brazil. With this qualification, they would be able, almost always, to settle questions conversationally, before instituting a correspondence in relation to them. It would enable them to occupy advantageously, a social position, which they cannot possibly attain while ignorant of the language. A man of tact and knowledge of refined society, should he entertain hospitably, would speedily gain the confidence of this people, and be able to exercise an influence sufficiently powerful to obtain for his government any thing reasonable. Under the present system, letters are written and translated on both sides, and both are embarrassed for want of means of easy intercourse. Both fear deception, and the caution thus begot, renders diplomatic communication tedious, and unsuccessful in many instances, in which there would be no delay, if social confidence existed between the parties when business began.

It is remarkable, that men, all things being equal, have more confidence in those persons whom they have seen often, than in those they have met only once. Even in the same city, persons are prone to fancy that their own friends and acquaintances are more worthy, and better people than those whom they have not known at all; yet it is presumed there are few individuals of any degree of respectability whatever, who are without friends and acquaintances who appreciate their good qualities. There is almost always a degree of reserve between strangers, which is removed by intercourse in a short time; it seems to banish that sort of shyness or distrust which strangers mutually entertain for each other, for no other reason than because they are strangers. The influence of constant meeting may be seen in the rapid progress in acquaintanceship and friendship, between men who come together as shipmates and messmates at sea, and between youngsters at schools and colleges. There is an aphorism among seafaring men: a messmate before a shipmate, and a shipmate before a stranger, which seamen act upon, although changing from ship to ship very many times in the course of their lives. Juxtaposition of residence or neighborhood alone, begets kindliness, which seems to bear some proportion to distance. Men are wont to imagine they have more claims on their adjoining neighbors than upon those who are removed from them fifty or sixty yards or more. A common interest or common purpose is productive of personal kindness. Men of different vocations, of different politics and of various character, are made to fraternize through a religious or sectarian creed; and social intercourse often creates friendship between men of opposite views in religion and politics. And so strong is this feeling of friendship which springs from association alone, that men sometimes permit themselves to dislike those who do not go with them. In some of our large cities, we find perpetuated feuds between fire companies, which, probably had their origin in a spirit of rivalry alone: yet, to an entirely disinterested person, it would be extremely difficult to show

any reason whatever, why they should mutually complain of each other, and fight whenever opportunity offers.

Frequent and extended intercourse with our fellows, teaches, that men generally are worthy and disposed to be just and benevolent and are intrinsically neither better nor worse, because we have not seen them or known them. The true merits of men do not depend upon social position, nor upon the virtues or fame of their ancestors. There are few families including any considerable number of persons, of which one or more members are not deficient either in moral or mental constitution. And it is well known that all men distinguished for wealth are not unencumbered by poor relatives. Then, is it not remarkable that a man should be proud of his relatives, living or dead; because if he scrutinize closely, he may find among them fellows without many claims to consideration or respect, although one among the crowd may be or have been possessed of brilliant virtues. It is just to regard every man for his own qualifications, and not respect him more or less on account of his propinquities, or on account of the conduct of family connexions. But to estimate fairly the merits of men, is very difficult, and should be undertaken always with due caution and reserve, for we may, through ignorance, censure unjustly. A proud man, if poor, may acquire a reputation for meanness, while he is actually as generous and liberal as his circumstances will permit; and at the same time, another may win a name for generosity, by meanly giving away, not from his own, but from the pockets of his companions. Yet, the man whose want of integrity permits him to spend freely what is not his own in showy hospitalities, enjoys, at least for a time, more popularity, and exercises greater influence in society than he who honestly measures his expenses by his own revenue. How many "noble, good fellows" have won favorable opinions of the many, by preying upon the purse or fortune of a few; "noble fellows," who are ever ready to borrow money to spend in wine and wassail for "good fellows" at restaurants and taverns;" "brave fellows," who despise a creditor mean enough to demand from them his just dues. Good fellows of every genus and species flourish, who, like the lilies of the field, "spin not," or if they do, not enough to meet their wants; they may be moderately dishonest, untruthful, heedless, and be excused, provided they possess hearts and stomachs fitted for good fellowship. I mean simply to urge that, in the eyes of the multitude, good-fellowship stands in lieu of many virtues; a social, jovial fellow, without brains for business of any kind, will obtain and retain political office, in competition with the most capable and least exceptionable candidates who are deficient in social qualities. A deep drink and a good joke, are proofs of discretion and ability, and will convince a great number of voters; they are often more extensively influential than a plain statement of truth, urged in accordance with rhetorical rule.

Superior intelligence, honesty and sincerity are requisite in those who represent the country at foreign courts; but if they are not united with social powers, with the faculty of amusing and the means of gastronomically entertaining, their influence is comparatively nothing. The exercise of the social virtues is very expensive, but they are so much admired in all parts of the world by all classes of men, that adequate resources should be furnished to diplomatic agents by every government desirous to be effectually represented. The stolidity of a man must be very great, if he fail to perceive sound arguments in good dinners, good wine and good company: besides, it requires great moral courage to refuse the request of a man who has the faculty of providing superb dinners. It is said the agents for claims resident at Washington are aware that the weak side of legislators and statesmen is located in the stomach through which is a route to the "soft place" in the head or heart, if it exist; and they have created, in this belief, an occupation for a class of assistants, whose duty consists in giving agreeable dinners to such distinguished politicians as are not easily accessible during business hours. They may be named prandial caterers of claim agencies; they are generally much courted by wine dealers, and from habitually feasting with the great are suspected to be "good fellows" of great wealth who delight in the society of the capital. They are doubtlessly "good fellows;" but there is not

the smallest reason to suspect them of possessing riches.

Sunday, May 28th. At seven o'clock this morning the ship was under sail. Though we had not gained much of an "offing," by ten o'clock the shores of Brazil, owing to a foggy condition of the atmosphere, were no longer visible. We spoke a brig bound to Rio, which had been 79 days at sea from Boston. The day has been passed in arranging matters for sea, and as sailors say in "making all snug."

I here transcribe a sketch made some years ago.

Nature has been lavish of her choicest gifts to Brazil; in the soil, the scenery, the mineral and vegetable productions. This favored country possesses great rivers; a sea-board extending from four degrees north to thirty-five degrees south latitude, bathed by a peaceful ocean: abundant forests of enduring timber; graceful trees and plants for ornament and use; some affording food, some in their medicinal properties sources of comfort to afflicted humanity, and others dyes of unrivalled beauty and great value. The naturalist contemplates with delight the beauty and variety of her insects, and the gorgeous plumage of the feathered race, while he shrinks from the boa-constrictor and her many poisonous reptiles. She has a genial climate varying in temperature with the degrees of latitude which mark her limits, or, as mountain or valley may prevail on the face of the country, and she is comparatively free from those periodical diseases which, in similar parallels of north latitude, are sometimes so desolating.

It is a region in which the study of nature does not tire, where art finds ample employment, commerce a wide field for enterprise, and agriculture a full reward. Here, the philanthropist may indulge in conjectures on the destiny of man, and erect religious temples amidst the richest of nature's scenes; and the heart thus inspired with gratitude swells in devotion and breaks forth in holy adoration of the Great First Cause—"the Architect divine."

Nature nowhere frowns upon Brazil. Her mountains are covered with verdure to their summits; her forests are in perennial leaf; and blossom and bud and fruit are common companions, even on the same tree.

Brazilians are not destitute of genius; we have evidences in the recent issues from the press. They respect foreigners who are not Portuguese, for whom they entertain a feeling of rivalry or colonial jealousy: and the government, in its political relations with other countries is confiding and liberal, at least in appearance. Perhaps the United States stands first in their regard. They are vain of their country and its institutions, and proudly associate the great names and deeds which shine so brightly in the early history of Portugal with the high destinies which, in their dreams of political greatness, they have marked out for Brazil. They are ceremonious and punctilious; suspicious in disposition, but easily flattered; courteous though dilatory in conduct; selfish, but assuming frankness and generosity; cunning, but easily overreached by a bold and confident demand of what is claimed as a right; timid, but presumptuous; unsteady in purpose, and without any large or comprehensive views of political affairs. Religion is merely nominal among the youth; the aged attend to its forms and ceremonies.

The population of the empire is estimated by the government at 5,200,000 souls. Of the whole two-thirds are supposed to be slaves; the proportion of Indians and mulattoes and free blacks to the white population is not estimated. The relative number of slaves varies in different provinces. In that of St. Paul, for example, they are supposed to constitute one-third; in Las Minas and in Rio de Janeiro, two-fifths; in Rio Grande do Sur and in Goiaz, little more than one-fourth.

No danger is apprehended from the slave population; because, being from different parts of Africa, and belonging to hostile tribes, they retain much of their national antipathy to each other, and, in point of intelligence, are considered but little above the brute creation. They are kindly treated, and are attached to the families of their masters, rather from a clannish feeling or habit of mind, than from any sense of gratitude, a sentiment of which they seem to be destitute. They are baptized by their owners as soon as purchased, and generally, in the

cities, go regularly to mass and confession. They never become entirely civilized; even those who obtain their freedom, in reward of faithful services, are less intelligent than their descendants born in Brazil.

Although the slave trade has been abolished by law, there is still a contraband importation amounting, it has been asserted, to an annual average of from eight to ten thousand slaves. About one-third perish in the act of importation; that is, about two-thirds of those who leave the African coast are available for labor in the country.

Male slaves are instructed in the craft or trade of their masters, and perform the greater part of the mechanical labor of the country; and the females learn the duties of house-servants, become mantua-makers, milliners, &c. Many families in Rio de Janeiro depend exclusively on the labor of their slaves for daily support; and for the finery displayed at balls and on other occasions, the ladies are indebted to the manual labor of their female slaves. The slave population increases slowly. The blacks are admitted into the church as priests, and as officers into the army, in which, in former times, they attained to the grade of major. Even the national legislature includes some who would not be received as white men in the United States.

The people take little interest in the politics of the empire. They are of a temper so mild, so averse to mental exertion, and so little calculated by education or habit to expand their views beyond local interests or personal affairs, that it would be difficult to excite in them any very active feeling in political matters. They have not yet entirely shaken off that state of mental apathy and sense of political inferiority into which the mother country had brought them by pursuing the common policy of European governments towards their colonies, before the voice of liberty broke upon them, which, being imperfectly understood, was listened to with apprehension. Except in the large seaport towns, they have not yet more than begun to feel the invigorating sense of individual right and political freedom. The advantage of free and frequent interchange of sentiments and comparison of views, is not afforded them, because the population is spread over a wide extent of country where communication is difficult, and social intercourse is embarrassed and restrained from the influence of old habits and customs. Hence we may infer that a long time will elapse before there will be any violent political struggles among them, except of a local nature; particularly as they are prospering in their individual affairs, and therefore content with "the goods the gods provide them," without a desire to grasp at remote and problematical benefits.

The revenue is derived from a commercial tariff, and from tithes on produce, and on rents of city property, and on the sale of property; the tithe on produce being paid by the exporting merchant, who regulates his prices accordingly, the producer is not so sensible of the tax as he would be were he to pay it to the government from his own pocket. Yet, with the enormous tax of twenty per cent upon property, in addition to the commercial duties, which are low, the revenue is not equal to the current expenditures.

Suffrage is limited to persons who have, from labor, craft, trade, or property, an annual income of at least two hundred mil reis. The vigario of the parish sits with the judges of elections to decide upon the qualifications of voters. Friars and members of religious fraternities are not entitled to vote. Blacks are not excluded from the civil rights of white men.

The standing army of Brazil is so small as scarcely to merit the name. There is a military staff, however, supported on a large scale, and a corps of military police. A national guard is organized by law, in which all males from the age of eighteen to forty-five are enrolled. They are equipped at their own cost, the nation furnishing them only arms and ammunition. Detachments of this guard are daily on duty at the palace and public offices.

The navy is not effective, and having no mercantile marine to create seamen, there is no prospect of improvement. The navy list includes one admiral by brevet (?), one vice-admiral; three commodores, two chiefs of division; eight chiefs of division by brevet; four captains, three graduated captains; 24 captains of frigate; 58 lieutenant captains,

(commanders?); 67 first lieutenants; 129 second lieutenants; besides a retired list of three vice-admirals, 5 commodores; 5 chiefs of division; 4 captains, 6 captains of frigate; 1 commander; 11 first lieutenants and 11 second lieutenants. There are 32 vessels in commission, among which is one frigate, 5 corvettes and 5 steamers; the rest are small craft. In ordinary there are 12 frigates and 4 smaller vessels. Including 5 transports or store vessels, the whole Brazilian navy consists of 42 vessels. The number of guns is not reported.

According to official reports the Brazilian navy is employed, in three fleets or squadrons, on the coast; and from absence of foreign service, officers have been occasionally placed on board of the public ships of England and the United States to acquire nautical experience. A system of apprentices for the naval service has been put in operation; machine shops, building yards, and dry docks have been recommended by the Minister of Marine to be constructed, and the acquisition of large war steamers is urged upon the national legislature. Persons of intelligence have been despatched to Europe and the United States to improve themselves in naval architecture and in the manufacture of arms.

But we may not look to genial climates and luxuriant soil for men of hardy adventure and daring enterprise; and it is not unjust to Brazil to say she cannot become an important naval power, notwithstanding her extensive coast, fine harbors and abundant forests. Moral laws seem to oppose her ambition in this field of national glory. Yet she must in the future appear gloriously in the history of nations. In point of morals and intelligence the people are in advance of the government, and the spirit of improvement is active amongst them. They have passed through a long night of despotism; but the light of freedom has begun to shed its rays, and is dispelling the mists of superstition and ignorance which have so long concealed from them their own degraded condition. Since the departure of John VI. much has been done. Agriculture is extended; the slave trade is prohibited, the army is disbanded, schools have been established; women are receiving instruction—and are not women always patriots? To them and to their influence on society nations are indebted for their great men. The taste for literature is increasing; the number of bookstores is augmented, and the labors of native authors are kindly received. Including the daily press, there are seventy-eight periodicals of all kinds published in Brazil, to supply the demand of five millions of people.

CHAPTER XVII.

Vitality of Live Stock; Influence of Weather on the sensations—Observance of the Sabbath; Petrels and Puffins; Housing Guns; Tristan da Cunha; Splicing the Main Brace; Reality and poetry of sea-life contrasted; Porpoise steaks; Fourth of July Dinner; Value of Science to sea-faring people; Time; Unhoused the guns; Use of the tropic lines; Island of Pulo Klapa; Sea-life; A water spout; Anchor in Mew Bay; Flying Foxes.

May 31st. Latitude 25°33′ South; longitude 39°16′ West: temperature of air 76°F. Nearly calm all day.

I have sailed from Rio de Janeiro seven times. The live-stock taken on board there, according to my observation, is less hardy than that procured at almost any other port. Chickens, turkeys, ducks, pigs are all feeble; they seem to possess less tenacity of life than the same kinds of animals of our own country, and many die very soon after being brought on board.

Thursday, June 1st. Latitude 26°14′; South; longitude 38°31′ West: atmosphere 76°F. A pleasant breeze from the northward and eastward; sea smooth; rate of sailing five or six knots.

June 2nd. Latitude 27°31′ South; longitude 36°45′ West: air 75°F. Hopes are entertained of a short passage to Java Head.

* Lafayette, the beloved of America, was interred in earth carried from her shores to France for that purpose.

Atmosphere delightful. Cape pigeons or petrels are flying about the stern.

June 3rd. Lat. 28°20′ South; long. 34°28 West: air 68°F. The coolness of the atmosphere cannot be rightly appreciated in the present instance by the height of the thermometer. All seem to feel that it is quite cold; men wear their pea-jackets and all have spontaneously assumed woollen clothing. Last night the wind veered rapidly to the southward, and there was a shower of rain. In this hemisphere it is now winter, and the south wind has the character of the northern blasts in our half of the globe. It might be inferred from the general sense of cold manifested that the air is also dry and that evaporation is proportionably rapid; this seems to be the most rational mode of accounting for the impression made by a temperature of 68°F. on robust seamen. I have no hygrometric notes or observations recorded.

The following is an extract from a newspaper: "When Commodore Stringham was at Rio de Janeiro in command of our squadron, some months ago, a great parade in behalf of the Emperor occurred on Sunday. The Brazilian ships and men-of-war fired a grand salute, but the American ships were silent. The next day when Commodore Stringham sent an explanatory note to the proper minister of the court, saying that the Sabbath was observed in his country, and he hoped it would be a sufficient reason for not having fired on that day; but to manifest the kind and respectful feelings which he and his countrymen entertained towards Brazil, he would have the happiness to salute on Monday. To this note a friendly reply was received. The salute was fired, and the affair ended in perfect harmony."

It is probable that, however uncourteous the silence of the American ships may have appeared to the Brazilians on the occasion, the conduct of Com. Stringham did not lessen him or his countrymen in their estimation. Those who desire the respect of others should always be careful to respect themselves: and in no other one thing perhaps than in the observance of the Sabbath, would we be more respected by Roman Catholics in foreign countries. Religion might be supposed to set lightly on men when they readily disregard its formalities simply to comply with military or social customs of a foreign nation. But on the other hand it might be urged that as an agent of the government the conduct of Com. S. was not faultless: he was wrong to regulate, according to his religious views, the acts of the government which he thus represented. Had the government been present, (if we may suggest an impossibility for the sake of an illustration,) it would have joined in the rejoicings of the day? The government of the United States observes no Sabbath as a government; the political Constitution or organic law of the country forbids it. Its mails run; its ships sail; and, in time of war, its warriors do not refrain from doing battle on the Sabbath. For this reason it was a gross mistake to say he could not exchange or give a complimentary salute, because the Christian citizens of the United States refrain from all unnecessary labor on Sunday. He was not the representative solely of his Christian fellow citizens; but of all, Jews and Gentiles, who support the government which he was bound to represent as an officer, and not as a private citizen.

June 4th, Sunday. Lat. 27°38′ South; long. 31°57′ West: air 68°F. We have been driven forty-two miles to the northward by an unfavorable wind, which is so boisterous that the accustomed prayers have been dispensed with.

June 6th. Yesterday the weather became pleasant. Lat. 31°20′ S.; long. 29°11′ W.: air 69°F: Wind N. W. and, our course being S. E., studding sails are set on both sides; we are "rolling down to Saint Helena" over a smooth sea.

June 7th. Lat. 32°24′ S.; long. 26°45′ W.; air 71°F. Pleasant weather. We have had for two or three days past, Cape pigeons, *(Procellaria,)* and "whale birds," *(Puffinus obscurus,)* about the ship. The plumage of the latter is brownish black; in other respects, size and form, the puffins resemble the petrels or Cape pigeons. It is remarkable, that a thousand miles distant from land those birds surround us; yesterday they had disappeared, but to day they are numerous, sailing upon extended wings through the air, and ever and anon skimming the surface with their tips.

June 8th. Lat. 33°38′ S.; long. 23°35 W.;

air 67°F. Fresh gale of wind; heavy sea. It was deemed prudent to "house the guns," one of the means resorted to in olden times, (when the tenacity of wood and iron in naval structures was probably much less than it has come to be in the present advanced state of the ship-wright's art,) to lessen the strain occasioned by the weight of the guns on a ship's deck while contending against a perilous force of wind and waves. The guns are "run in," that is, withdrawn from the port-holes; their breeches let down, and muzzles elevated, to the top of the ports, which are closed with port bucklers and caulked up as tightly as possible. These black "bull dogs of war" look like so many disconsolate curs sitting on their haunches, looking beseechingly upwards as if to deprecate a threatened punishment. The hind or "after trucks" of the gun carriages are removed; the black train tackles, short and tight, on the deck, heighten the resemblance to subdued curs with broken legs and prostrate tails. The effect of this arrangement is to lessen the violence of the rolling motions of the ship, because the weight of the guns is brought nearer the centre, and operates on a shorter lever.

Sea-birds are numerous around the stern; amongst them are several albatross.

June 9th. Lat 34°28′ S.; long. 20°37′ W.; air 66°F. Heavy gales of wind with rain.

June 10th. No observation. Lat. 34°28 S.; long. 19°12′ W.: air 62°F. Rainy and disagreeable. A vessel in sight steering the same course as ourselves.

June 11th. Lat. 36°17′ S.; long. 16°50 W., by dead reckoning, No observation. Air 61°F. Squally and rainy all day. In the afternoon caught an albatross, *(Diomedea spadicea, Lath.,)* with hook and line.

June 12th. Lat 35°53′ S.; long. 13°39′ W.: air 57°F. Pleasant. An albatross was shot from the ship's deck; it measured nine feet nine inches across the expanded wings. For the gastronomically curious albatross brains were served at dinner, and pronounced to be a dish worthy the attention of kings.

June 13th. Lat. 36°52′ S.; long.; 12°11′ W.: air 61°F. Morning very pleasant. At sunrise the snow-capped peak of Tristan da Cunha was seen from the deck, but by 10 o'clock A. M. was shut from view by the mist. This island, which is ten miles in diameter, rises more than 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. One of our seamen tells me, about four years since he passed three months on this lone rock, having been accidentally left there by a whale ship to which he was attached. The island has upon it patches of very good soil, which produces potatoes, onions, &c., and hogs, goats and poultry thrive. The population consisted of nine families. While Napoleon was imprisoned at St. Helena, the English government maintained a regiment of soldiers on Tristan da Cunha, and when it was removed, an old sergeant, by permission, remained on the island. He imported a wife from the Cape of Good Hope, and set up an Eden for himself. He is now known as Governor Glass, but whether a relative of the distinguished Mrs. Glass who wrote on cookery is not stated traditionally or in history. Be this as it may, Governor Glass is regarded as a romantic hero. His island is visited by whale ships and English traders outward bound to India, to procure water, vegetables, &c.

June 15th. Lat 38°18′ S.; long. 3°54′ W.: air 56°F. Disagreeably cold. Our progress is fair, having advanced more than four and a half degrees of longitude in the past twenty four hours.

June 16th. Lat. 38°48′ S.; long. 0°41′ E.: air 58°F. Here we are in eastern climes, though it is difficult to distinguish between the western climate of yesterday and the eastern climate of to-day.

June 17th. No observation. Wind fair: rainy. The commander prescribed for the men at 5 o'clock, P. M. an extra allowance of grog because he thought it would do them good. This is called "splicing the main brace."

18th. Lat. 40°11′ S.; long. 10°12′ E.: air 56°F. Rainy, cold, disagreeable. It is blowing a smart gale; the ship is scudding under topsails at the rate of eleven knots the hour.

19th. Lat. 40°01′ S.; long. 14°59′ E.: air 61°F. The ship has sailed 245 miles in the past twenty-four hours, under two single reefed topsails and foresail. We have cape weather, but comparatively mild. The rolling of the ship renders writing difficult.

21st. Lat 39°48′ S.; long. 21°04′ E.: air

61°F. Morning pleasant; wind gradually freshened, and by 8 o'clock P. M., we were necessarily reduced to close reefed topsails. The ward-room is deluged; my state room is swashed and every thing wet. As usual in such times, there were crashes of crockery, and bursts of merriment at each catastrophe, which, with the whistling of the wind and surges of the sea, made a noise equal to that of a grand opera, but without the harmony and melody of music.

22*nd* Lat. 38°37′ S.; long. 41°18′ E.: air 57°F. No observations. Rainy; last night there was sharp lightning to the southward of us. *Midnight.* A gale of wind from the south west; all are uncomfortable on board from wet and cold, but the ship is dancing grandly along on her way. The gun deck of a frigate in a storm, just at the relieving of the first watch, presents a spectacle of interest. There is here and there a lantern shedding a dim light through the gloom, but enough to permit an observer to see the legs of men slowly descending from hammocks swinging above the guns, to the deck over which water is rushing from one side to the other, back and forth, in obedience to the rolling of the ship. Those are the legs of those unhappy fellows who have been roused from a four hours' nap at midnight, to remain on deck, exposed to the gale until four o'clock in the morning. Who can wonder that their movements manifest reluctance, or that they bear the cries of the boatswain's mates, hurrying them from their snug nests and slumbers—"Hurry up there, all the starboard watch, ahoy!" is repeated more than once, and in five minutes after the bell has struck eight, you hear an officer mustering the watch on deck, each man answering as his name is called, "here, sir!" not in gentle tone, but shouting at the top of his voice, to be heard above the noise of wind and sea. Next we have the men of the first watch, hurrying to the hammocks left warm by those who relieved them. Then a listener may hear denunciatory expletives, muttered between the teeth, of the hardships of a seaman's life; or congratulations that the first watch is over, and, perhaps, there are indications in the sky that they will find the weather better when called to the morning watch. The minds of those retiring are awake, and the impressions from exposure are fresh upon them; but happily for the poor fellows, they speedily lose all remembrance of their sufferings in deep slumber, and often under circumstances which would effectually banish sleep from the lids of inexperienced landsmen.

Returning along the gundeck from the bows about this time, picking my way over train tackles and rushing streams of water, and watchful of the motions of the ship, I observed one poor fellow standing close in to the ship's side, ankle deep in water, wringing his blanket which had fallen to the deck, possibly through heedlessness of him who had just left the hammock. He was in flannel shirt and drawers, but without stockings, and in the very faint light of my hand lantern, his circumstances seemed to me unenviable, to say the least. What his good old grandmother would have felt to see him going to bed with wet feet, under a wet blanket; she would have sentenced him to "his death of cold," for taking such lodgings. He was growling certainly in low tones; but all I distinctly heard was "the beggar what wrote 'A life on the ocean wave,' never saw blue water in his life"—and so thought I.

> "When the driving rain of the hurricane
> Puts the light of the light-house out,
> And the growling thunder-sound is going
> On the whirlwinds' battle rout;
> Ha! ha! do you think that the valiant shrink?
> No! no! we are bold and brave!
> For we love to fight in the wild midnight,
> With storm on the mountain wave."

A few guns further along the deck, stood a sailor in his drawers only, wringing the cold water out of his flannel shirt to go to bed in. He too, was mentally quarrelling with some nautical song composer. "I wish the begger what wrote 'the sea, the sea!' was here now— d—— his soul."

It is a fearful night to be sure; but we have plenty of sea room, a strong ship under us, and God in his mercy watches over us.

In such times as these, the sluggish and dilatory under the new order of discipline, find punishment by confinement for negligence or other censurable acts rather grateful than otherwise, because it is surely less painful than hard labor in exposure to the driving rain and chilling blasts on deck. Such men rejoice in an opportunity to be confined

below on these occasions, and thus those of spirit and energetic character, have imposed upon them increased toil, proportionate to the number who may be withdrawn from the watch to expiate faults.

26*th.*—Air 49° F. Rain alternating with hail; sea very heavy; scudding under close reef-topsails ten miles the hour. Two of the ports were driven in by the force of the sea.

27*th.*—Lat. 37° 26′ S.; long. 47° 23′ East; air 54° F. Weather has moderated, but the sea is very rough and the ship very uncomfortable. The boatswain harpooned a porpoise to-day under the bows. It was a female about six feet in length; the brain weighed 2lb. 13½ oz. We had steaks at dinner, which in flavor was that of neither fish, flesh nor fowl, but a compound of all three, and tough enough to fatigue the strongest jaws. Female porpoise, if this individual is an average sample of the genus, is not as palatable as some other mammals, and furnishes a very bad substitute for fresh butcher's meat of any kind.

30*th.*—Lat. 37° 24′ S.; long. 54° 45′ E.; air 60° F. Cool and clear; wind light but fair. A sail in sight astern.

July 1*st.*—Lat. 37° 29′ S.; long. 58° 40′ E.; air 56° F. Wind fresh; uncomfortably cold. Three ships in sight, steering the same course we are. We shortened sail, and when within the range of distinct vision, the two nearest displayed Dutch colors; the third is supposed to be also a Dutch ship, and all are bound to Batavia to exchange Schnaps for Java coffee.

2*nd.*—Lat. 37° 25′ S.; long. 62° 23′ E.; air 53° F. Clear, cold and nearly calm; in the afternoon the wind increased our speed to nine knots.

3*rd.*—Lat 37° 59′ S.; long. 67° 03′ E.; air 57°. Daylight brought with it a heavy gale, which rendered it necessary to house the top-gallant masts, that is, to reduce the length of the masts. The main topsail was split, and we are now scudding, that is, running before the wind eleven knots, under a double reefed foresail and close reefed fore-topsail. The seas rise as high as the cross-jack-yard, or seemingly more than forty feet. The water on the wardroom floor is two inches deep in spite of swabbing and bailing: overshoes are very useful in this nautical drawing room. How the cooks managed to produce dinner is a mystery, for dishes, chairs, and every article of furniture seemed to be endowed with a power of spontaneous motion. About ten o'clock, P. M;, the wind abated, but the sea is still high. The cabin is all afloat; indeed, there is not a dry spot in the ship. The surface of the tossing ocean is a sheet of white foam as far as eye can reach. All the ports are closed and the gun deck is almost impenetrably dark. Add to this the roar of the wind through the rigging and spars, and the noise of the rushing sound of the sea, and one may imagine that landsmen do not find themselves here comfortably situated. A gentleman passenger on his first voyage, says he has changed his opinion of the pleasures of a sea-life.

July 4*th.*—Lat. 37° 36′ S.; long. 71° 01′ E.; air 50° F. Very cold; the wind has abated and the sea has subsided very much. This anniversary was observed by an extra allowance of grog to the crew, and by a dinner in the ward-room, although we found it no easy task to keep the dishes on the table: the *carte* was striking under the circumstances, thanks to the useful application of chemical philosophy, and to the cultivators of abstract science, for they have taught the mode of preserving almost all meats and vegetables, without an unpalatable addition of salt; and thus far, have provided the means of ameliorating the condition of those who dwell at times upon the seas.

5*th.*—Lat. 37° 49′ S.; long 75° 31′ E.; air 53° F. Cold; heavy sea; scudding; and, as usual, there is not a dry foot of deck in the ship. Water was splashing over our feet while we sat at the dinner-table, to which our chairs were lashed fast. *Ten o'clock, P. M.* The ship rolls so extensively, that it is difficult to write. We are in the longitude of the islands of Amsterdam and St. Paul's.

7*th.*—Lat. 34° 57′ S.; long. 83° 35′ E.; air 58° F. Damp and cool. Sun shines, and the ward-room is once more dry, but the ship rolls heavily still, before the wind. A whale spouted close along side the ship.

10*th.*—Lat 29° 46′ S.; long. 94° 01′ E.; air 63° F. Time is a very remarkable circumstance. If we consider it attentively, it is only a relative and not a positive condition, for time varies four minutes for every degree

of longitude. A hundred and seventy degrees of longitude separate us from Philadelphia, and could we at this instant compare our watches, we should find them differ eleven hours and twenty minutes, and yet both are correct where they now are. We are in the winter solstice and have short days; with you it is summer and long days. We are, however, eleven hours and twenty minutes nearer sunrise, or this much earlier than you. At this instant here, ten o'clock at night of July 10th, you have progressed only as far as twenty minutes before eleven o'clock of *last* night, the 9th. While the sun is setting with us, he is rising with you on the day before; when the sun set with you on the ninth, he arose with us on the tenth: this being the case, we are no longer, in the true sense of the word, cotemporaries. Yet, in a few days more, when we shall have passed the 105th degree of east longitude from Greenwich, you will be nearer to sunrise than we are, and, suddenly we shall find ourselves a day behind you in our reckoning of time. The sun travels, apparently, 180 degrees in twelve hours; but we have been 97 days in getting thus far towards the end of our voyage.

July 11*th.*—Lat. 27° 55′ S.; long. 96° 19′ E.; air 56° F. It has been nearly calm all day; we therefore hope to be overtaken soon by the southeast trade wind, which prevails in this region. The temperature is agreeable; the violent surging and rolling and pitching of the past month, have subsided into a gentle, heaving motion of the Indian ocean. The guns have been *unhoused* and placed in their accustomed position; and the decks have been very thoroughly holystoned; their appearance is much improved, and consequently every thing is more comfortable. Every body is disposed to enjoy the sunshine on deck. At sunset, owing to a peculiar reflection from the clouds, there was a stripe of apple-green sky which was very striking.

12*th.*—Lat. 25° 56′ S.; long. 96° 43′ E.; air 67° F. Cloudy; wind very light from the eastward.

14*th.*—Lat. 23° 07′ S.; long. 98° 13′ E.; air 73° F. Pleasantly warm and clear. Wind from the northward and westward, to the surprise of some on board. Crossed the tropic of Capricorn about eight o'clock this morning. A gentleman asked why this tropic, as well as that of Cancer were placed in lat. 23° 28′, instead of twenty three and a half degrees exactly? He seemed surprised when told that these lines simply mark the limits within which the sun sheds perpendicular rays upon the earth. Yesterday saw the last pig on board placed upon the table.

16*th.*—Lat. 19° 53′ S.; long. 101° 12′ E.; air 72° F. Pleasantly warm; wind light. The last of the eggs prepared in Norfolk, by dipping in boiling water four months ago, were consumed to-day.

17*th.*—Lat 17° 29′ S.; long, 102° 44′ E.; air 76°. Warm, clear; southeast trade wind is at last upon us.

18*th.*—51st day from Rio. Lat. 14° 17′ S.; long. 104° 29′ E.; air 78° F. A current of 25 miles N. W. by W. ¾ W., has helped us on our way. We have tropic birds around the ship; petrels and albatross have left us.

19*th.*—Lat. 10° 38′ S.; long. 105° 30′ E.; air 82°; water 80 F. Our reckoning at noon to-day, placed us within five miles of Christmas island, according to the authority of two charts, and it is said to be visible at a distance of twelve leagues, but we cannot discern it. Here is a predicament. It is conjectured that our chronometers are in error to the eastward, and therefore we ran to the west fifty miles, at the rate of ten knots an hour. At five P. M., no land being visible, it was determined the error of the chronometers is not to the westward, and the ship was steered north northeast. Tropic birds and flying fish abundant to-day. Who knows precisely where we are now, on the waste of waters, hunting for Christmas island?

July 20*th.*—53d day. Lat. 7° 50′ S.; long. 105° 44′ E.; air 83° F; water 82° F. Rate ten knots. About half past three o'clock, P. M., the low island, named Pulo Klapa, about ten miles south of "Java's palmy isle," was descried, and soon afterwards Palambang point, about twenty five miles distant; consequently the ship is about thirty miles from Java Head, at the entrance of the the straits of Sunda.

Pulo Klapa is about five miles long, three broad, and quite level; it is covered with trees, but the foliage does not present the vividly bright green of the tropics, now in the winter season. A line of heavy breakers brought the island in strong relief; a huge

emerald set in glittering pearls, if you please to give way to a little fancy, may convey a notion of the sight. At sunset, six o'clock, P. M., being too late to attempt to enter the straits, we shortened sail and stood to the southward at the rate of about five knots; our design is to "luff off and on" for day light to enter our port, taking care not to fall to leeward.

I cannot well communicate a better idea of the monotony, the stupid dulness of life at sea, than by the record already given above, of the passage from Rio de Janeiro to Java. There has been nothing of importance to note, although I have been somewhat watchful of events. We have experienced the usual weather on a winter passage; it has been far from agreeable, but in spite of long continued wet and cold, we have no persons on board seriously indisposed. I have no doubt that many men have not had dry clothing upon them for a week at a time, without any effect being immediately manifest; yet, it is this sort of exposure to alternations of weather, in conjunction with imperfectly nutritious food, such as is afforded by the strongly salted meats and the unleavened bread of the navy ration, which tends to induce premature old age, so common amongst seafaring people. Longevity does not pertain to men who are imperfectly nourished, speaking in the physiological sense, men who are not supplied with an adequate quantity of the materials and elementary compounds which enter into the composition of their bodies, while the functions of their various organs are repressed by the sedative influences of deficient and irregular sleep, and the vicissitudes of heat and moisture.

21*st.*—54th day. Lat. 7° 05′ S.; long. 105° 15′ E.; air 84°; water 83° F. The temperature of the climate may be inferred from the temperature of the ocean, which is above the ordinary summer heat of the United States. At noon, we were nineteen miles from the entrance of the straits of Sunda. A Dutch ship, supposed to be the same we saw two or three weeks since, is in sight. We moved slowly along the land, which is high and green to the water's edge. It is bounded by a line of heavy surf, and though no palm trees are visible, the appearance is very picturesque. About three o'clock, P. M., a light breeze sprang up. Directly astern, in the midst of a heavy shower of rain, an immense water spout was seen. It presented a great column, seemingly two thousand feet high, descending from the edge of a cloud to the surface of the sea; it was of a dark color with a faintly whitish central line. At the end of fifteen minutes it disappeared, fading as it were into the shower.

About sunset, we passed Friar's Rock, off the first point of Java; and at seven o'clock anchored in twenty fathoms water, near Mew Island, in Mew Bay, on the shore of which falls a cascade of fresh water, at which it is proposed to replenish our tanks. The commander prescribed an extra allowance of grog for the crew, immediately after the sails were furled—a sort of libation of thankfulness for our safe arrival.

Saturday, 22*nd.*—It rained heavily all night; this morning it is calm, and at noon the temperature was 87° F. A boat was sent to examine the bay, and after an absence of three hours, returned. The officer reported that the whale ship Stephania, ten months out from New Bedford, was at anchor, taking on board wood and water; the latter being obtainable from two sources. There is no fruit or fresh food of any kind to be had. The sportsmen in the boat saw wild peacocks, but obtained no game of any kind.

About three o'clock, P. M., a light breeze sprang up, and the ship was moved to the anchorage, between Pulo Pocham (Mew Island) and Java, which is almost perfectly landlocked, that is, sheltered from wind by high land, being open only to the northward and eastward. The surface of the water is quite smooth; the vessel is once more quietly floating in equilibrium. The Stephania lies near to us.

We are about three hundred yards from Mew Island, and at this distance, the undergrowth or jungle appears to be impenetrable. The whalemen of the Stephania reported that at night "catamounts" were heard in the woods; and that not long since, a man belonging to a whale ship which had stopped here to refresh, was killed by a tiger. One of our young gentlemen, a lad of fourteen, went on shore anxiously hoping to see a drove of elephants drinking at the waterfall, but returned disappointed, for he saw only an

impassable thicket, "dense as a hedge." After sunset, flocks or swarms of "flying-foxes," a kind of bat of very large size, flew high over the ship, and by those who had not seen the animal before, were supposed to be buzzards. These mammals with membranous wings, pertain to the genus Pteropus, of which at least thirty-eight species are described in works on natural history. Some of them expand wings which measure five feet across. All these animals are frugivorous, and are very destructive to fruit gardens in the countries where they exist. Some of them are edible; but the flesh, though white and tender, is not delicate. The various stories of Vampyres and other species of the bat tribe, being carnivorous, and preying upon other animals, are fabulous.

CHAPTER XIX.

Mew Bay; Cascade; Water; Vegetation; Anger; Mail-boat; Visit the shore; Banyan tree; Javan Malays; Horses; Pursuit of knowledge under difficulties; Walk through the streets; Sail from Anger; Java sea; Sailor notions about religion; Character of sailors; Green turtle not equal to salt beef; Corposants; Mino; Dampness of ship; Sultry weather; Oil of tobacco not poisonous to a monkey; Clothing in hot climates; Edge of a typhoon; Arrival at Macao; An account of an old cruise in the China sea; Extraordinary Animals.

Sunday, July 23rd. Mew Bay, Java. Visited the shore about nine o'clock this morning. Vegetation is so near to the water there is no room for a dry path; and it is so dense and close that one cannot penetrate many feet from the sea without very great toil. The vigor of vegetable growth here cannot be described so as to be justly appreciated by persons who have not visited tropical countries: it forms a barrier as insurmountable as the best "thick-set" hedge in England or in any other country where hedges grow.

A cascade falls over a rock into the sea, but it is so completely veiled by the dense vegetation that it is not readily discovered at a hundred yards from the shore. The fall is not more than three or four feet above the level of high tide; but it spreads into a thin sheet four or five feet in width. An examination of this water shows that it contains one grain of solid calcareous matter in every thousand.

July 24th. Air 84° F. in the shade. On clearing away a part of the very dense vegetation the cascade was seen falling over rocks at an angle of forty or fifty degrees. By placing a starting-tub, (that is, a large tub having a hole in its bottom communicating with a leather tube or hose,) about twelve feet above the surface of the bay, the flow of water was sufficient to enable us to convey on board about 7000 gallons in the course of the day. The casks were filled without taking them from the boat.

Spray from the cascade is constantly falling upon branches of overhanging trees and vines; and evaporation is so rapid that the solid matter contained in the water is incrusted upon them, forming very considerable masses. A twig three quarters of an inch thick was encased for a foot in length in a calcareous cylinder of more than three inches in diameter; and yet organic life continued, as was seen in the bark, which was perfectly green up to the commencement of incrustation.

In the course of the day attempts were made to catch fishes with hook and line, and to shoot game; but they were unsuccessful. One persevering young gentleman, armed with a carbine, penetrated the thick tropic forest about a hundred or more yards at the cost of some two hours' hard labor, and was rewarded for his pains, only by an opportunity to admire the fantastic and intricate twining and interlacing of limbs, and vines, and trunks of plants, entirely unknown to him. About twenty Malays appeared at the watering place in four canoes: each man was armed with a kris. A few months since a Dutch ship was robbed in this bay by a party of Malays, and several of the crew were severely wounded. The Malays in the canoes seemed to be collecting palm leaves and similar materials for making thatch.

Five ships passed to the eastward through the straits of Sunda.

25th. The "watering" was completed today. Since our departure from Rio the ship has sailed, by log, 8,656 miles; and from

New York, 15,221 miles, which may be regarded as a pleasant sail in its way.

26th. We left Mew Bay early this morning, and about five o'clock P. M. anchored in fifteen fathoms water off Anger (sometimes written Anjier) Point. We found here two American whale ships.

Before we anchored a mail-boat came along side. After the mail was examined and the name, &c. of our ship registered, the officer in charge of the boat offered to sell us monkeys, onions, sparrows and sea-shells. A bom-boat also visited us, and its master, with great confidence, presented us for inspection a certificate of character from an officer of the United States ship Vincennes. It simply stated that the bearer was a sharper, but as good as the best of his countrymen. He sold us chickens at one dollar the dozen: eggs at a dollar the hundred, and capons at four dollars the dozen. Pumpkins, about five inches in diameter, were purchased at five cents a piece.

27th. H. B. M. brig Albatross sailed last night, hence for Bombay.

At five o'clock, A. M., breakfasted and set off for the shore. The clouds and mountain peaks of Java behind Anger were tinged in the soft light of the rising sun. It was calm; the sea was glass-like, and its surface was broken only by the movement of our boat. The centre of the scene on shore was the huge Banyan tree which shades the landing place. To the left of it are the residence of the governor, (a captain in the Dutch navy;) a hotel kept by a Hollander, and some huts shaded by banana or palm trees: a fort covered in green sward, and an extended grove of cocoanut trees are on the right. As at Batavia, there is here a "boom," or channel formed between piers or piles extended in lines far into sea, through which boats reach the landing-place, at which convenience has been consulted. Along the canal is a brick aqueduct which supplies water for the use of ships that stop here; but its quality is doubtful, unless it be the same as that furnished at the hotel, which was probably rain-water.

Just before reaching the entrance of the "boom" or canal we met the Malay boat of our friend Ishmael, who cried out as we passed, "me got the beef for ship—me be back soon." This beef, by the way, was very indifferent; poor water-buffalo meat.

It is remarkable that the Dutch have never colonized in any country not requiring canals. One is reminded of the saying of Voltaire, translated into "Dykes, Ducks and Dutchmen;" though of the latter there are only five or six besides the few pertaining to the garrison.

The Banyan tree of Anger is celebrated. Thirty years ago or more, the Governor of the town lived in the top of it. Now the nest-like room built in the body of the tree forty feet from the ground—about a tenth story chamber—which is accessible by a bamboo ladder, is used as guard-room or look-out. The Dutch flag is displayed above it on a tall staff.

Under the shade of this Banyan tree were assembled numerous venders of various articles; and each immediately began to commend his stock to us. "Capting," cried one, "you buy my fine *big* black monkey—very fine monkey, one dollar." And another at the same moment called out, "Capitaine, I say capitaine, me got *little* monkey—very tame little monkey—me sell him for one dollar."

"You buy my kris," said another; "no can make kris no more in Java—very old kris—one dollar."

"*Capitaine* you buy one jim cock—fine jim cock," i. e. game cock.

"Capitaine you buy Malacca cane—one dollar one."

"Capitaine you want some fine capon?"

There were dozens of these venders in parti-colored calico dresses, or half naked, anxious to sell their wares, which included ducks, geese and capons; fowls, parrots and monkeys; and sparrows, yams and malacca joints; oranges, which are very small, sweet-potatoes, yams and onions.

The Javan Malays are of small stature, personally clean in appearance, were it not that the mouth is always soiled by the disgusting stain of the betel quid; vivacious in manner and perfectly temperate in their habits. They are Mahomedans, and very religious; I mean they are strict observers of the forms of worship and of the ceremonies observed by those of their creed. Their morals are no worse

perhaps than are those of many who acknowledge the true creed.

Cleanliness is a striking feature of Anger. The white coping of the canal is in fine contrast with the tropic green of the sward. The bridge crossing the canal to the fort is neat; and there is an appearance of civilization in many things.

We soon found the hotel, where we were refreshed with the water, or so called "milk" of cocoanuts. Two gentlemen of our party procured horses, which were about four feet high; when mounted the toes of the riders almost touched the earth. These Javan ponies are quite serviceable, small as they are.

Ignorance of the language of a country renders it very difficult for a traveller to procure accurate information about it. The eye takes in rapidly, but may mistake objects and motives. The traveller lands as we do here, and addresses the first person he may meet who understands his own language.

"Is there any pepper growing here, Landlord?"

"Yes! you want pepper? How many pounds you want; I can buy for you?

"No, no; I wish to see the plant growing."

"It no grow; it come from Sumatra; but you go up there till you see one monument, and there you find a garden. You can find there, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon."

You ask another, "what is the population of Anger?"

"It is twenty-two miles, and eighty miles in zee district, and zere is seventy-two thousands peoples."

"But how many people are in the town, here?"

"Oh!—in zee town?—may be, four thousands all about," indicating an indefinite boundary line with his hand, as he finished the reply.

A walk of a quarter of mile brought us to the garden which had been pointed out, and in it we saw a monument erected to the memory of the Honorable Charles Cathcart. At the gate, which is constructed of bamboo, we met a Javan, who, by many signs of hands and genuflections, and almost knocking his head against the ground in exhibiting a profundity of politeness only witnessed in eastern climes, invited us to enter the grounds. Our equestrian friends informed us that every Javan they had met, either knelt upon the road-side or made other demonstration of extreme respect.

The gardener, an elderly half-naked little Javan, became our guide, and called attention to those things which in his estimation were worthy of notice. He named the plants as we passed them; but to us his names were incomprehensible. We found capsicum, but neither pepper nor nutmeg. The cinnamon was in flower, but a more offensive, hircine odour I do not remember to have smelt in the domain of Flora.

The locality of the garden consists of a marsh intersected with spots and strips of dry land: the soil is a reddish clay mixed with sand. By eight o'clock the sun-shine had become hot, and we took leave of the garden and gardener.

In our walk we passed a Chinaman's shop—a petty grocer or retail vender of earthenware and "schnaps." The oriental master of the establishment was serving some negroes from the whale-ships and other sailors with morning drams of gin when we looked in. His stock in trade was an odd collection of coarse chinaware, yams, fish, potatoes, Chinese toys, tobacco and sea-shells. A democratic friend of our party diligently sought information here in relation to the state of political affairs in the East, and sagaciously inquired what was the condition of the difficulty between the English and Chinese; but he was not rewarded by any authentic knowledge or news. We passed many huts occupied by laboring Chinese; and on the road we met many Javans carrying bricks to Anger. The load was suspended at either end of a bamboo which is borne upon the shoulders. Men here seem to be beasts of burthen; yet they are so slender and their proportions are so small that it is not easy to distinguish them from the women.

While at the hotel we gathered some local news from a file of newspapers, published at Singapore.

We had an excellent breakfast; and doubtlessly some of our young and romantic companions found its qualities enhanced by the reflection that they were drinking Java coffee in Java, probably made by a Javan cook.

After the meal we strolled about the town,

ınd visited the fort, on which there were our mounted guns. The garrison consisted f forty Dutch soldiers, of whom thirty were n the sick list. Anger is notoriously unealthy; strangers who sleep on shore at ight put their health and life in peril.

We passed a house where a Javan father vas reading the Koran to the family assemled on the piazza.

About midday Ishmael advised us to return on board in his boat, because "the sun very hot, make all white man very sick."

On our arrival we found the ship crowded with venders; our vessel had been converted nto a sort of menagerie. Monkeys, parrots, apes, doves, sparrows, minos, musk-deers, squirrels and green turtles were seen every where. The asking price of every thing was "one dollar," and the selling price a quarter. We purchased at the last moment eight dozen fowls for two dollars.

About two o'clock, P. M., we made sail, the thermometer standing at 115° F. in the sunshine.

July 28th. Lat. 5° 44' S., long. 106, 01 E., air 89° F. We are in the Java sea which has an average depth of only ten or twelve fathoms. Its tides and currents are irregular and unknown; and rocks and shoals, the position of which is uncertain, are laid down on the charts. Monkeys, game cocks and pet-birds of various kinds occupy the attention and affections of the whole crew. Passed two Dutch ships. Two monkeys were lost overboard.

The writer made the following notes in this region many years ago.

If the midshipmen are curious characters to observe, the jacks are no less so. I sometimes think that sea air makes people inquisitive, and you know I dislike answering questions—it is a sort of innate dislike I cannot exactly account for—but before I came to sea I never was at loss to evade the most inquisitive person I ever met. Such is not the case here, however, and I look at them in astonishment, puzzled to guess what can prompt them to ask the thousand things they do. I think it is not good policy to let every body know what one's opinions are on the various subjects that are casually brought up for discussion.

You know that Batavia is a fatal place for Europeans, and that a great many sailors die there from the effects of the water and climate. On one occasion our surgeon was sent for to see some sick sailors on board of a merchant vessel, and he recommended them to send for a physician on shore, because he was very much occupied on board. They said they had no notion of doing any such thing. The doctor argued that the physicians on shore understood their cases quite as well as he did—"That be all true enough," they replied, "but then they are a pack of rascals—dont you know, sir, that they are in partnership with the coffin makers, and because poor Jack haint got no money to pay much, they just kills him and then divides with the undertaker!" So firmly did they believe this, that they would not consent that any but our doctor should attend them.

Since my last, we have lost two men from dysentery; but it is supposed, they allowed the disease to run on too long before they reported to the doctor. The ship is now very healthy, and we have very fine weather.

I expected to see great gloom cast over the ship's company by the burial of two of their shipmates. It is awful to hear the shrill pipe of the boatswain, followed by his deep rough tones—"All hands to bury the dead," which is echoed by his mates. The body sewed in a hammock with two or three thirty-two pound shot hung to the feet, is placed in the gangway on a board, and covered with a flag called a jack. His messmates stand on either side; all hands are gathered round in perfect silence. The captain comes forward (having no chaplain) and takes off his hat, which is the signal for all to do the same, and reads the impressive service of the church. As he pronounces the words, "We therefore commit his body to the deep," the corpse is launched overboard, and a heavy plash breaks the silence. Then, curiosity prompts every one, who is near enough, to stretch forward his neck over the bulwark to follow the sinking remains which the ship is leaving behind. The service over, the order is "Pipe down, sir," and the affairs of the ship instantaneously resume their routine, as if nothing had happened.

How quickly one is forgotten, thought I. Here we have thrown overboard a man who only ten days ago appeared to be a favorite

of his companions—foremost in the dance, the yarn, the song, and on the yard when the storm howled—yet not a smile or a joke is abated, nor flows a single tear—his place is at once filled. In this there is an epitome of the whole world, for beyond the ties that bind us to our own hearths, we are little cared for; and when even the greatest die, the world wags on. Napoleon was scarcely missed—How ridiculously vain then is it for a man to suppose that he, as an individual is of any importance to society. How common to say such a man's place cannot be filled; yet we daily see the contrary.

On the night of the funeral I loitered on the forecastle, enjoying the evening breeze and a cigar, and endeavored to discover whether death had caused any serious impression on the living, but I could see none, or very little. Just as I was turning away, an old, clear-headed forecastleman, asked one near him, "I say, Tom, where the devil do you think Bill is now?"

"In fiddlers' green, to be sure, drinking grog and spinning yarns about our craft—where else should he be?"

"Why I don't see why he oughtn't to be in heaven, for you see Bill was a good man. He was good *natured*, did his duty, respected the captain and superior officers, and never quarreled, except when he was drunk. He told some hard yarns, and swore too, like most on us, but that's the worst you can say."

"According to you then, we ought all to go to heaven, for we are all as good as he was—my notion is that we sailors all go to hell, because the parson says that we mustn't swear nor tell lies, but I can tell you, if them preachers and pious people had to go on a lee topsail yard to reef, with the wind singing a sort'o harrycane, and cold and dark at that, and just when a fellow goes to haul the sail on the yard, it give a flirt and tears up all his finger nails; I say if he wouldn't swear at that hard enough to kill his father, he ought to be damned any how."

"Well I can tell you there be some of 'em who wouldn't swear, nor tell a lie if you was to chop their heads off; but then they've got book larnin' and for that reason are obleeged to keep a sharp look out, for may be you don't know that the bible says—'Where much is given much is required,' and for that reason you see, I don't intend to learn any more about it. Him that knows least about the matter is best off, and stands the best chance of going to heaven. Now you know Bill couldn't read a word, and as nothing was given, how the devil can you expect him to give any thing back—my notion is that 'much' means book-larnin' and nothing else.

"Well, I can't read neither, and I thank my father that he sent me to sea before he sent me to school, for you see its just all the same as if he shipped me for a snug berth in heaven; and I shall never be sorry any more that I can't read—any how, I don't care nothing about no books, except them yarns in Peter Simple and Walter Scott, that Jack Smith reads for a fellow now and then. I begin to feel a sort o' sorry for every man that can read—now it would be a d—d pity if Jack should go to hell an account of his larnin', because there aint a better soul ever hauled *taught* (tight) a weather earin' than him. I begin to think you must have a sort a quaking yourself once in a while, and if I was you I'd knock off telling lies, swearing and drinking grog."

"Well, Tom, you're half right. I often think it was a sore day I larned to read, and it was all owing to one of them missionary fellows that goes about in the streets, and sending boys to free schools. If it hadn't been for that I should now be as sartin of heaven as you are. Them missionaries are just like pursers; they give a fellow the 'much' in advance, when he's little and aint got his mother wit about him, and he has a 'dead horse' to work out the rest of his days, and when he comes to be paid off, he finds himself in debt. You see and know better than to do as I do, but I can't help it, and I suppose hell's my portion at last—Tom, take my advice and steer clear of missionaries."

At this moment the mid watch was called and the dialogue put an end to, and I retired to my hammock, thinking how melancholy it was to hear men argue so strangely. This is a fine illustration of the poet's line,—'A little learning is a dangerous thing.'"

In spite of all this, sailors are fearless people. One day, while at Batavia, a boy came to the first lieutenant, and holding a scorpion

between his thumb and fingers, said, "See here, sir, what a queer bug; it is just like a crab!"

July 29th. Lat. 4°56′ S.; long. 106°30′ E.; air 86°, water 84°F. A five knot breeze prevailed during a part of the day. We have passed through the most uncertain part of the Java sea, and are now to the north of a small island called the "North Watcher." Weather very sultry.

A few nights after listening to the religious conversation above related, the subject was again renewed in my hearing. Every thing was tranquil—the sails were just asleep, and mother moon was shining on the blue sea as softly as the parent over a sleeping babe.

"Come," said Tom, "rouse out of that moonshine, or you'll find your neck as crooked to-morrow as a cork-screw."

"That be ——," replied Ben. "That notion is like some of your bible ideas—not straight and not proved, no how. Do you think moonshine is going to make me change color like a dying dolphin?"

"It might be better for you, if your ideas was like most folks' about the bible. My notion is, you had better believe it, and if it aint true, there's no harm done."

"How can you believe," said Ben, raising on one elbow, "what you can't understand?"

"Why, well enough—them preachers understands the bible, and if you obey their orders they'll navigate you straight to heaven. You don't understand navigation, but you believes the captain knows what course to steer into port, and you steers it and no grumbling."

"That's clear enough, Tom; but you see this difference; the captain pays me my wages, allows me my grog, tobacco, and now and then a 'blow' ashore; your preacher stops all except the wages, and axes me to subscribe to bible societies and build churches, and they begs you like a woman. I gave one fellow a dollar once just to get rid of him, and I have damned his whole tribe ever since. What has a sailor got to live for, after you take away rum and tobacco? Then there's another difference.—The captain always *does* carry you into port—but you only find out the preacher when maybe it's too late to do any good. No, no, I'll be a jolly jack-tar all my life, and take my turn at psalming it in the cold clouds, with nothing to eat and no grog in the next world."

"Well, I'll try and believe any how. You talk as if you don't believe in a future world."

"Well, the fact is, I don't much; for I don't somehow see any use in it, 'specially when you've got to be psalm-singing, or crying all the while, and that for ever. I tell you it is mighty hard to believe such things. Why, I can't so much as believe about Adam and Eve. How did she get black children I'd like to know! I guess they were both niggers, I've seed more colored folks in the Indies and Africa than I ever saw white folks altogether. Now, if you will prove, *pint blank*, that we've got to go to another world in the first place, and that Adam and Eve, being white folks like you and me, got black children, you've got to prove, in the second place, that they were white or black, and that Jesus Christ was the same color: then if you'll prove that God Almighty wrote the bible, you're a smarter man than I took you for, and damme if I don't turn Christian and take to farming."

"Well, Ben, I might maybe agree with you if I did not hear every body say they believed the truth. And then see how the missionaries go all over the world to convert the heathens—and do you 'spose they'd be fools enough for that, if all they say wasn't true. But somehow I think, too, it would be doing them a good turn to let them alone; for if they don't know no better than to worship idols, they can't be sent to hell for doing it."

I regret to describe so much horrible ignorance, but I feel bound to give you the notions of sailors about religion. I have heard the same kind of arguments again and again, and often endeavored to convince them of their errors, but I fear with little success. They often laugh at chaplains; and I am sure they often pretend to piety, merely to show their dexterity in deceiving. I remember overhearing one man say to his companions, when we had a chaplain—"I say, Jack, just mind now, how I'll make the parson think I am getting good." He walked aft on the quarter deck, took off his hat to the chaplain and begged him for some tracts, which he brought off in triumph, swearing they were as good as oakum. All in hear-

ing laughed heartily, but I could not discover the wit of the joke.

If you have any friend who visits sailors for religious purposes, let him read these notes, for he may gather from them, that sailors are often very strong-minded, but the difficulty is they will never express their opinions to persons they look on as superiors—and, therefore, they are with more difficulty instructed. The missionaries or clergymen who would benefit seamen, should be "as wise as serpents and harmless as doves," and not visit Jack with the avowed purpose of his conversion, but as Hamlet says, "use all gently," for, "We can't be by compulsion blest."

The fact is, that sailors form a class of beings *sui generis*, and do not belong to what is commonly termed society, though society might be badly off without them. They are above public opinion, and if they have the pride of reputation, it is of a false kind. The applause of their shipmates is more valuable than that of all the world besides; lying and pilfering are common, but amongst seamen these are not crimes but merely practical jokes. They seldom fear any thing in this world, nor in that which is to come. It is no wonder that Johnson thought a ship was a state prison enlivened by the prospect of being drowned, and after becoming acquainted with the morals and habits of its indwellers, the comparison is the more striking. Houses of refuge and jails furnish a goodly quota of sailors; while the marine corps is made up of the degraded scapegraces of good families, who endeavor to hide their own shame and that of their parents by sinking into the files of marines. Though generosity is unknown amongst seamen, prodigality on shore is almost universal. Sailors usually spend, in a few days, all they accumulate in a cruise of two or three years.

But it must not be imagined that the moral and mental qualities of sailors are derived from their vocation—that there is anything in sea air, in the odour of tar and bilge water, in sea diet or the motions of a ship which causes seamen to act and think differently from their fellow-citizens of other pursuits. They become sailors because they possess these irregular and eccentric qualities, which prevent them from pursuing profitably any kind of labour on shore, and for this reason, being unable to make a livelihood on land, they are in a manner forced to accept less remuneration than similar toils and exposures command in any of our cities. Seamen's wages will advance in proportion as intelligence is diffused among the classes of men from which they are drawn; no sensible man who can earn twenty-five or thirty dollars a month at day labor, will expose himself to the dangers, privations and toils of a sea-life, for twelve, or, including rations, eighteen dollars. As the lowest and most degraded of the community are raised up by improved morals and education, the number of men who seek the sea as a means of support will decrease, unless the wages are made equal or greater than those of similar classes on shore.

Sunday, July 30th. Lat. 3°22′ S.; long. 106°40′ E.; air 87°, water 83°F. Sea smooth; wind light. For the reason that the crew might be required "to work ship," that is, to change the position of the sails as it might be necessary in changing the course steered in tacking, while in the midst of the religious services, there was no "muster."

The ship was anchored about 6 o'clock, P. M., because it is believed there are shoals in the vicinity, not accurately laid down on our charts, which renders daylight important to safe navigation.

July 31st. Lat. 3°12′ S.; long. 106°37′ E.; air 85°, water 83°F. Got under sail again at 4 o'clock, A. M. Force of the wind very irregular; heavy squalls with rain, but we were through the straits of Gaspar by four o'clock P. M. We passed through what is called Macclefield's straits, which lie between the islands of Banca and Pulo Lepa on the west, and the island of Pulo Leat on the east. Instead of following the coast of Sumatra by the "Brothers" as recommended by Horsburg in his "Sailing Direction" we steered in a straight course from Button islands to the "North Watcher."

The Java sparrows are dying. A cage containing many of them was opened to-day in a heavy squall, that the prisoners might have the advantage of a strong, fair wind to reach the shore, but many fell in the water and were drowned. About sunset we passed Tree island, a small rocky islet having two

trees growing on its summit. When the tops of the trees were first descried from the mast-head, the look-out mistook them for a strange sail, which he could not make out.

Since leaving Anger, green turtle has been furnished to the crew in lieu of salt beef; but to-day the men protested against receiving more of it, on the ground that it was not fair to deprive them of the legal ration. What will turtle-loving aldermen think of this perverse taste?

August 1st. Lat. 1°06′ S.; long. 106°54′ E.; air 82°, water 82°F. We are now in the China sea. During the mid-watch last night, there were heavy squalls of rain with vivid lightning; and on the fore and main trucks there were what sailors call *corposantos* or *corposants*, which are luminous or phosphorescent spots, by some persons supposed to be due to electrical causes, and by others to organic or animalcular matter tossed from the sea. Sailors regard them with superstitious dread; they are believed by them to portend heavy gales and shipwreck

Weather sultry; sea smooth. Dolphins under the bows. Two monkeys lost overboard.

August 2nd. Lat. 0°34′ N.; long. 107°43′ E.; air 81°F. Crossed the equator into the northern hemisphere about seven o'clock this morning, in sight of the islands, St. Barbe and St. Esprit. A light air from the southward and westward gradually increased to a fine breeze, which is presumed to be the southwest monsoon. The temperature below has become more tolerable.

A mino escaped from his cage to day, and as I am assured by a seaman, killed and ate two sparrows. The mino was flying about the ship nearly all day, but towards evening disappeared in a fresh squall of rain.

The mino is a genus of birds formed or separated from the Grackles, (Gracula) under the names of *Maina*, *Manatus* and *Mino*.

Birds of this genus are celebrated for their imitative powers, and for the facility with which they submit to captivity. They are said to repeat words more perfectly than parrots, and to readily acquire many amusing tricks. Their size is somewhat greater than that of the robin; their plumage is bluish black, and they have yellow, fleshy slips depending from the back of the head, which bear some analogy to the wattle of a cock. They inhabit the islands of Java and Sumatra, and feed on both animal and vegetable substances. They visit gardens in flocks, and are destructive to fruits, especially bananas. There are three species of mino described.

August 3rd. Lat. 3°07′ N.; long. 107°11′ E.; air 82°F. Sultry; wind light. At sunset passed the island Boong Ouran, or Great Natunas, and the Little Natunas.

August 4th. Lat. 4°44′ N.; long. 108°44′ E.; air 87°F. Very sultry. Since entering the Straits of Sunda the sea has been of various shades of green, but this morning it is "deeply, darkly, beautifully blue," the color most agreeable to the seaman's eye. No rain to-day.

5th. Lat. 6°03′ N.; long. 109°23′ E.; air 87°F. Sultry. During the night there were frequent and heavy showers of rain; and to-day it has been squally with rain. The changes of temperature, though not extensive, are very sudden, in these alternations from sunshine to rain, and are evidently affecting the health of the men: they are all dressed in flannel, and some wear two heavy flannel shirts, in spite of the high temperature of the atmosphere.

6th. Lat. 6°47′ N.; long. 110°10′ E.; air 84°F. The weather is very sultry: the ship is very damp, and every thing exposed is quickly covered with mould. There is a kind of haziness in the atmosphere from the moisture. I have remarked now, as well as on a former cruise here, that shadows cast on the China sea, even when the sun shines brightly, are never sharply defined.

7th. Lat. 9°17′ N.; long. 110°32′ E.; air, at two o'clock P. M., 90°F. Wind fair, but light; weather very sultry. Several mild cases of fever have occurred among the men.

The north star is again visible, and we have a bright moon.

8th. Lat. 12°4′ N.; long. 111°09′ E.; air at noon 87°, and at 2 o'clock P. M. 89°F. It is most oppressively hot below, where there is no ventilation, in consequence of the ship being before the wind.

9th. Lat. 12°4′ N.; long. 111°45′ E.; air 87° at noon, and 90° at two o'clock P. M. Clothing in drawers and in bags is be-

coming mouldy. Several men are suffering somewhat from dysentery, coughs, sore throat, &c. Ten drops of oil of tobacco were swallowed to-day by a monkey, without any other effect than a manifestation of disgust. A man could not have taken this dose without suffering seriously; indeed, it would be probably fatal.

10*th.* Lat. 13°46′ N.; long. 112°21′ E.; air 88°F at noon, and 90°F. at 4 o'clock P. M. I found the corks forced out of bottles of brandy, which had been over-full, from the expansion of the liquor by the heat. The strong twine which had been tied over the corks was broken.

In my opinion there are erroneous notions existing on the kind of dress which should be worn in tropical climates by the sea-faring people. The marines are clothed in the same manner now, with the thermometer at 90°, as they were when the mercury stood at 45° and 50°; and the sailors are covered in flannel and broad cloth. They seem to be almost on the point of solution; at any rate, they are in a permanent, hot vapor bath. Most of them are suffering from irritation of the skin, the secretions of which are detained in the blue flannel. It is true, Dr. James Johnson in his entertaining, but pernicious work on tropical climates, advocates the wearing of soiled linen as conducive to health. He says, "It is astonishing how much less exhausting is the linen, which has been once or twice impregnated with the fluid of perspiration, than that which is fresh from the mangle." He argues, however, very properly, that while the quality of dress should be such as is calculated to protect the body from sudden transitions of temperature, it should be so light and unirritating as not to stimulate the skin and provoke perspiration. The heavy flannel and other woollen fabrics, worn by seamen under a temperature of 90°, are too irritating; and with almost as much reason might it be urged that a perpetual blister or sinapism to the whole surface in hot climates would be a safeguard to health, as to admit that this excessive clothing is healthy. Cotton is a much better material for clothing within the tropics than wool.

To day the sentinel over the galley fire complained that he was suffering from the heat. He was answered that, "the heat of the galley is a *healthy heat*, and can do no harm." Who can think how the *patés de foie gras* of Strasbourg are produced, without supposing that livers of men and geese may be affected by like influences? But this is not the place to attempt a demonstration that an unduly elevated temperature, whether from natural or artificial sources, applied to the surface of the body, for a considerable period, must disturb the equilibrium of the organic functions, and thus produce disease.

11*th.* Lat. 15° N.; long. 112°37′ E.; air 90° in the shade and 126°F. in the sunshine. Calm and sultry. Men employed in scrubbing and cleaning the ship preparatory to entering port.

12*th.* Lat. 16°23′ N.; long. 113°25′ E.; air 86°F. Breeze fresh; if has hauled to the northward. Our course is north, but the wind permits us to steer N. E.

At sunset the barometer had fallen to 29.75 inches. The sea had risen considerably; the wind was fresh but very warm. There were heavy clouds and lightning to the eastward: part of the sky was of a bright pea-green, and there were masses of clouds comparable to the golden fleece. At half-past eight o'clock P. M. the wind shifted to N. by E., and heavy rain immediately followed, with a sudden cooling of the atmosphere.

"13*th.* By dead reckoning, Lat. 17°38′ N.; long. 114°11′ E.; air 81°F. Last night about midnight a fresh gale set in, from the northward and westward, and at daylight the ship was "lying to" under a close reefed maintopsail, on a short, heavy, head sea. Towards sunset the wind and sea abated so much, that a reefed foresail and foretopsail were set, and we are now driving roughly over the sea towards Macao. The rain and heat render the ship very uncomfortable.

14*th.* Lat. 20°07′ N.; long. 113°33′ E.; air 78°. No observation. Last night the rolling and pitching of the ship were violent; sleep came only as a consequence of exhaustion. The ward room and every part of the vessel were flooded. To day the sea has subsided, and the wind has abated so that we are now, (8 o'clock, P. M.,) comparatively comfortable.

15*th.* Off the mouth of Canton river. At sunrise this morning a Chinese pilot came on board, and soon afterwards another. The

first was called Ahye, and the second Ashing. Ahye is a handsome Asiatic, whose shining black queue sweeps the deck while he walks; and forms a turban when coiled round his crown. Ashing is not remarkable for personal appearance; but his countenance suggests that he is more shrewd at a bargain than his handsome friend. Ahye wore a dress of black crape, consisting of a short frock or jacket, falling to the hips; and wide trowsers which might be compared to a pair of petticoats, with a tawny foot extending below the bottom of each.

These pilots came on board from a kind of fishing vessel, or "fast-boat;" and their first demand was for a cup of tea. We learned from them, there had been a typhoon, a part of which only we had felt.

When the tide was ebbing from the river, there was a vast stream of yellow water with perfectly defined limits, rolling towards us, which was in striking contrast with the pale green sea around the ship.

The whole day has been spent in unsuccessful efforts to advance against a strong tide without wind, anchoring and getting under way alternately, in sight of a group of many small islands called Ladrone—probably from the dishonest practices of their inhabitants or frequenters.

We are at anchor; the pilots Ashing and Ahye are sleeping on the gun-deck.

16*th*. Got underway at daylight with a very light breeze, and at seven o'clock A. M., reached the roadstead of Macao, which is four miles from the town.

I conclude this chapter with a copy of a letter describing some of the incidents of a former visit to the seas of the Celestial Empire.

Oh! my friend, you little imagine how tedious is becoming this voyaging in the East. There are, to be sure, many curious and novel things constantly presenting themselves, but they do not compensate for the miseries we undergo, which are increased by the reflection that at home every thing is delightful and pleasant. For a month past we have had neither bread, nor flour to make it of, and we are under the dire necessity of eating rice instead, which the seamen assure me is almost entirely composed of water, and those who live on it are liable to become blind. My own feelings strongly dispose me to think this is correct, for I am either getting blind, or this ink has grown very pale. I trust, however, *you* may be able to decipher this most melancholy of all my letters.

Last evening at sunset, when, as usual, the band was playing on the quarter-deck, I took my station on the taffrail, with many others, to look at a grand and soothing scene before us. The great island of Hai-nan, just at the entrance of the Gulf of Tonquin, which is as large as Ireland, was not more than ten miles off. Masses of heavy clouds had gathered over it, forming a huge, dark vault, into which the peaks and tops of the many mountains and hills of the island rose in a most picturesque manner. In the foreground floated a light, white scud, and the whole received the rays of the setting sun, which were reflected in a thousand tints. Both vessels were rolling before the wind, and glancing over a smooth sea at the rate of six knots. How beautifully swelled the cloud of canvass that swept the little Enterprise over the ocean. The band played "Home, Sweet Home." Oh! thought I, there they have plenty to eat and drink—oh, for a twist loaf and a lump of fresh butter. I looked at the setting sun, and wished to send by him, as he departed to rouse you people on the other side of the world to a new day, a message of kindness, but he was off and left the lighting of these skies to the moon and stars,—and me to send my message by the usual slow process of pen and paper.

The evening, like many others of late, was spent on the forecastle, where our half-starving condition begot memories of other times, and the good things of this life. "What would you give, now," said a long, tall, slim foretop-man, named Stephen, "for a beef-steak and ingins, with plenty of 'soft-tommy' at that, and maybe a dish of coffee?"

"A month's pay,!" exclaimed a hungry-looking, little forecastle man. "When I get paid off, which must be in a year, I'll have me a turkey, stuffed with sassingers, and wash her down with grog with no water in it, and no man shall nose it—I'll eat every bit myself."

"You may have your turkey, if you only

let me have," said a third, "some fried fish and apple dumplings."

"Well, them's all mighty good, but I goes for cod-fish and *petaties*, twice laid," said a fourth. "Give me a *biled* leg o' mutton, with them little, green, sour-tasted peas, and drawed butter and parsley."

"That's not bad."

Here I must confess nature got the better of me, and I was obliged to wipe the corners of my mouth, which was running over. I was a silent spectator, but not the only one. A marine, in his suit of gray, sat high above the little group that had gathered on the deck, who at every dish named, seemed to move his seat a little, as from the discomfort of his position, and inclined his ear closer towards the speakers. The night was very clear, moonlit and starry. Except the noise of the ocean under the bows, as it was dashed off in a furrow of foam, right and left, as the ship rolled onward, all was still.

"That's not bad," repeated Stephen; "but if you don't like my beefsteak and ingins, what do you say to a great big dish of ham and eggs?"

"Ham and eggs," groaned the marine, in accents of deep agony, "ham and eggs!" And he slowly got down from his seat, walked away with his eyes turned towards the moon, groaning between his half-closed lips, "Ham and eggs." The poor fellow, thought I, how much he must suffer, living as he does now exclusively on beef and pork, hard salted, and rice.

From eating, the conversation turned upon various animals, and their design, and the uses of their different parts. At last long Stephen said that he had often wondered why we didn't always have the broad-tailed sheep on board ship, because it is the most singularly provided animal in the world. "Six of 'em," said he, "would keep a ship's company for ever in fresh mutton, if they wouldn't eat the tails. You see this is the most curiousest of all sheep, and you can get plenty of 'em at the Cape of Good Hope. The way you must do, always to have mutton out of 'em when you go to kill is, wrap his tail in a blanket so as to keep it warm, when it's killed, you have about two inches of the back bone with the tail, and then lay it away in a snug, dry place. If you do this carefully, (you see the broad tail of a broad-tail sheep is just like the root of a tree,) in about six weeks it will sprout out into a lamb. We had some on board of an Ingieman I sailed in, and the only thing I could see against it is, that these young, growing lambs, as they can't get clear of the great big tail, keep crying and bleating all the while, so as nobody can sleep for the bloody things, no way you can fix it."

"Steve," said the captain of the forecastle, an old weather-beaten tar, "if it hadn't happened that I have seen some things in my time as hard as that sheep yarn, damme if I could believe it. But I was once up the Saison river, here just astern of us, in Cochin China, where they have eggs most as good to carry to sea as them broad-tailed sheep. Them fellows likes bad eggs better than good ones, and you may buy fresh eggs at half price. We had some of 'em aboard, and three days after we got to sea, they began to hatch out of themselves, and as they were very large eggs, the chickens were big enough to eat in a week, so we had plenty of fresh grub all the time. You might hear of 'em crowing before they got out of the shell. And there was two eggs that had twins in 'em, and all cocks, and game at that. What do you think of the little devils showing temper before they got into the open air. You could hear 'em flying at each other, flapping their wings, and crowing all the time. At last you couldn't hear but one; and when the shells was broke, we found one had killed t'other. The captain kept the live ones, and sold 'em for twenty dollars a-piece in Manila, where they are very devils for cock-fights. Now, you see some eggs below that is hatching now, because it is so hot on the berth-deck, and you can believe what I tell you. But the queerest feller of all was one the steward had. When they broke the shell, which was very hard, we found in it a little hen setting thirteen dear little eggs!"

I leave you to believe or not as you please; but I cannot credit these stories, though there is no question about the eggs hatching now on the berth-deck, which is actually as hot as an Egyptian hatching oven, and thus the phenomenon is accounted for.

I retired to bed, thinking of home and of something to eat. At last I fell asleep,

and began to dream of seeing the sailors, as I do almost every day, eating rice mingled with their tea. From that I thought we arrived at New York, and straight I walked to a celebrated eating house, the name of which I do not remember at this moment. "Beefsteak without gravy." "Coming, sir, —beefsteak without gravy in No. 7." This seemed to be echoed along the great hall on which numerous little boxes opened, and at last seemed to be answered by "Pudding without sauce." Oh! thought I, what taste; and, as if to show my own superiority in this respect, I bawled out at the top of my voice, determined that every body should hear me and envy me too—"Canvass-back and currant jelly, and don't forget the stewed oysters;" and I entered No. 9. I listened with pleasure when I heard the order repeated, "Chaffing dish, canvass-back with currant jelly, and oysters stewed, in No. 9." There I sat, happy at last to get something to eat. The chaffing dish was brought, and the materials for a salad, which I set to work mixing, thinking how delightful some of my messmates would be to join me. But alas, the fates destroyed the delusion—"Seven bells, sir." I rubbed my eyes,—"Where's my canvass-back?" "It has gone seven bells, sir." This brought me back, and I recognized the gun-deck, just washed down and swabbed up. I got out of my cot, and in sadness of heart went below.

CHAPTER XX.

Old notes; Signs of nobility; Macao; Residence of foreigners; The Albion; Streets; Style of architecture; Rule of visiting; A dinner; Style of sleeping apartment; Domestic watchman; Proof of civilization; Position and population; Climate of Macao; Sedan chairs; Sail for Whampoa; Boat traders; Water nymphs; The steamer Fire-Fly.

The sight of Macao in the distance reminds me of the circumstances under which I visited this port more than ten years since. We arrived in a sickly ship, and almost in a starving condition. Here are some of the notes I wrote at the time.

There is no picture of desolation equal to that presented by an empty hen-coop, that has been washed out more than two weeks, ready to receive a new colony. Salt beef and salt pork, water and rice, and nothing else besides! Live thus for two or three weeks, and then look into an empty hen-coop—and if it don't put you in mind of the "Deserted Village," or bring tears in your eyes, you are a good deal harder of heart than I am; or, what is the same thing, your heart is not so low down. The avenue to a dog's heart is down his throat—and the same is true of a good many right worthy men; for you know the stout-heartedness of an Englishman, it is asserted, depends altogether upon the vacuity or plenitude of his stomach.

It was after taking many a daily look at the said coop—my eyes wandering insensibly from it ahead, straining to see our destined port—that we at last reached Macao. It was under these circumstances that I sat down before a famous fatted capon of China, the day after my arrival, with an old friend—who you cannot possibly guess—and, in several glasses of choice Sherry, washed away all recollection of sorrow. That Macao is a pretty place—but I shall never think of it without pleasure, and bear an indistinct taste of the first capon I ate there to my grave. One is served there by the Chinese *en prince;* nay, *en roy;* that is, they feed you well, charge high, and cheat you into the bargain. I did not see much of the place, however—for it showered, and thundered, and lightened almost every day; but, sir, I did exploits of the table during this time, which made as much impression on me as if they had been exploits of the field, which carpet knights contend are equally hazardous. I grew fat: but I am getting egotistical.

Soon after our arrival, the fleet surgeon opened a hospital on shore, where he had all the sick removed. The establishment was a large, airy mansion, that had been just vacated by some Portuguese nabob, and was as clean and comfortable as a palace. Most of the men speedily improved; and two of them, who were bedrid when they went, returned stout, athletic looking fellows. A ship is but a poor place for sick folks. In spite of the comforts, two gentlemen fell victims to disease.

* * * * *

Their remains lie side and side, and two

monuments mark the spot in the British burial ground. They have gone! We sorrowed for them. Time rolls on—our grief is ended—the world continues its diurnal revolutions—and the ship, unmindful of the past, breasts the surge, and as gaily spurns the crested wave from her bows, bounding forward over the vast waste of waters rejoicing towards her home;—and let me add, no ship, no people, have such a country—such a home as ours.

I was fortunate enough to visit Canton for a short season, but I will tell you about it some other time. They are a curious, cunning, demi-civilized sort of people. They are ignorant of geography, but pretty skilful diplomatists—for they carried their point with Lord Napier, as you heard, by empty reasoning—they starved him, sir; on which account he got sick and died, and the English charge the Chinese with his murder; but some of the knowing ones on the spot say folly and chagrin killed him. During the events of that time, the governor was disgraced by losing his two-eyed peacock's feather, which the emperor afterwards very compassionately restored to the old gentleman. It is remarkable how many irreconcilable things we meet with in wandering about the world; indeed, I have seen some things this jaunt which you would not believe, were any body else than myself to tell them to you. I have often read about the kings of England giving gentlemen a garter, and the kings of France giving their subjects ribbons, as honorary distinguishing marks; but in China, the emperor gives his nobles a peacock's feather, which they wear as proudly in their bonnets as the bird did in his tail. In Siam, the magnificent king makes nobles and knights in a very different way. To judge him from this one custom, you might fancy his "magnificent highness" was an old maid, or an old woman at least. When any individual of his realm merits favour, the good king presents him with a tea-kettle, a tea-pot, and tea-cup of enameled gold or silver, according to degree; and, on all occasions, you see the princes and nobles followed by slaves bearing these badges of distinction, or rather patents of nobility. At the king's audience, there were present tea-kettles enough to have supplied hot water to all the maiden tea-drinkers in Philadelphia. This is the most rational distinction of them all, and shows that "his magnificent majesty of the magnificent kingdom of Thai" has an eye to domestic comforts in bestowing his favours.

* * * * *

How refreshing we found the breeze blowing over the vast bosom of the waters. Those who were worn down with fatigue and sickness revived—the gloomy silence that had reigned on the forecastle, since leaving Batavia, was overthrown by a general revolt, led on by a gay young tar, beneath the soft silver smiles of mother moon, as she waded through the blue heavens to bear light to other regions. It was a splendid night; the song rose upon the breeze, and feet moved gaily to the notes of the merry fife. I would have anchored time, if the happiness of the tars could have been prolonged by it. When the watch was set, the song and dance ceased; but the spirit of tranquil pleasure was seen in the several little groups gathered round a shipmate "spinning a yarn," which absorbed the attention of all the rest. While I watched the scene, I thought of Lamartine's lines—

"O temps! suspends ton vol! et vous heures propices,
Suspendez votre cours!
Laissez-nous les rapides délices
Des plus beaux de nos jours!

"Assez de malheureux ici-bas vous implorent,
Coulez, coulez pour eux;
Prenez avec leurs jours les soins qui les dévorent—
Oubliez les heureux!"

But now we may look to passing events which touch the heart with pleasure. Several of our countrymen, sojourners here through the attraction of thriving trade, visited the ship, before her sails were well furled, to bid us welcome, and to offer us individually the hospitalities of their temporary homes. At this season of the year, it is a custom of the foreign merchants at Canton to resort to Macao for a time to seek relaxation from toil, and to recuperate bodily health and strength, often too freely expended at the desk. Here dwell their Lares and Penates; the wives and children of those who have been blessed, as all deserving men should be, for without these treasures of the affections, all worldly wealth is mere dross. In Macao there are many happy, elegant homes of

American and European gentlemen, whose enterprising spirits have led them to seek fortune among the celestials on earth: and many of them are accompaned by their families whose presence cheers and beguiles them in many hours which might be sad and weary enough, if passed far from their native soil amidst those who embrace none of their kin or lineage. Rivalry in trade dams up the current of the heart's affections amongst men, when unassociated with females; the presence of ladies smoothes and encourages the stream to flow.

The diary is broken in its sequence; but let us fill it up as well as we can, on a hot night, contending with headache. By the way, few readers of travels estimate fairly the labor of noting at the time the passing events which make up the author's story of what he observes.

Our ship is at anchor about four-and-a-half miles from the landing: when the wind and tide are in opposition the pull on shore is fatiguing. I was of a party of officers who landed on the 17th, and, designing to pass the night on shore, I carried with me a valise, which was deposited at a hotel called the Albion, whose host was a Portuguese. The hostelries in eastern countries, generally speaking, are small establishments; and from being small are apt to be mean, because the customs of hospitality to strangers by their countrymen resident, interferes with the custom and consequently the profits of mine host. The Albion of Macao is a tavern.

The cleanliness of Macao is remarkable, because a notion commonly prevails that Portuguese towns are dirty. The site of the town, which fronts upon a sickle-shaped shore, is hilly. The streets are narrow and paved with slabs of granite: they are kept clean by heavy rains, which are frequent. The structure of the houses is solid, and their style of architecture is Moorish, or rather Portuguese. The ground floor or first story, which is grouted, is arranged as a great vestibule to the house, and for the exhibition of sedan chairs, carriages and other vehicular signs of quality. Here is usually posted a servant whose duty is to announce visiters, and receive their cards. When the parties sought are accessible, this servant commonly declares that they may be found "top side," and invites the visiter to mount "top side," or in plain Saxon, to go up stairs.

It is a general social custom among foreign residents in Eastern countries, for the stranger, or he who has last arrived at a place, to make the first visit to those persons with whom he desires to associate. This fashion is judicious; it saves time and enables the most punctilious stranger to despatch calls and business much more successfully than when compelled to wait for social attentions to be extended first by residents to him. This custom is worthy of imitation in all towns, great and small. A stranger, coming to a large city, should not assume that his arrival must be known at once to all his acquaintances; he should visit those whom he may desire to see, and then wait for reciprocation.

We dined at the house of one of our countrymen, and by way of indicating the gastronomic capabilities of the country I enumerate the materials of the dinner: Mullagatawny, fish, roast-beef, capons, ham, curried fowls, rice, ockra, egg plant, potatoes; puddings, peach tarts; then toast, raddishes, cheese, mangusteen, bananas, pine-apples. Ale, porter and wines, (quiet as well as sparkling,) mingled freely through the several courses; currie being followed by ale, and cheese and raddishes by porter. Viewing food in the light of animal fuel in a measure, it is quite manifest that there is no danger of the body's temperature sinking too low with such supplies, while the thermometer ranges from 80° to 87°F. in the shade. But the punka swung over head to keep us cool outside, while "firing up" within.

In the evening we were hospitably entertained at the princely mansion of another of our countrymen, where tea and music carried us through to the eye-lid-closing time of night. One of my ancient acquaintances found me here, and made me his guest; he despatched a messenger to the "Albion" and deprived its master forevermore of the pleasure of seeing my valise.

I retired to bed. What an expansion of feeling and thinking one falls into when for the first time he transfers himself from a ship's bunk or cot, in a dark box measuring little more than six feet, to an Eastern bedchamber in a sultry clime. A cool tile floor

five and twenty feet square, and a ceiling fifteen feet above it, banishes all notion of suffocation, or perishing in the night from lack of air. Then the hard upholstery of sofas and chairs and bed removes all ground for apprehending that one may perish in a bag of feathers or down. Every article of furniture is of liberal dimensions; and then to think that a great china basin and ewer on the toilet-stand with water *à la discretion*, to quote the *carte* of Parisian restaurants, awaits to give "due salutation to the morn," makes one good humored with himself, and brings him to the very agreeable conclusion that there are at least some people in the world who have a proper consideration of his worth, and of his importance to society. He may find himself wakeful for awhile after he has arranged himself safely beneath the mosquito bar; but he must be sleep-proof, if he can very long refrain from slumber.

I was kept awake sometime by the monotonous swash and roar of the surf breaking upon the beach not more than fifty yards from me, and by sounds, frequently repeated for five minutes together, which reverberated through the whole house. Every half hour these sounds were renewed: they seemed to convey a solemn meaning of some kind, but I could not construe it. At last I ceased to hear. At breakfast mine host, when asked what those knockings all meant, remarked—"Did it disturb you?—I rather like it." He related that some three weeks previously two Chinese burglars had entered the premises, and, after carrying out from the chamber where he was sleeping, two large chests, and lifting them over the garden wall, returned for a box containing some silver. He awakened, and, upon calling aloud for the servants, the burglars fled, leaving their intended booty in the street. To guard against similar untimely and unwelcome visitations, a Chinese watchman had been employed; and to guarantee that he is on the alert, he strikes together two bamboos, in different parts of the house, once every half hour.

Here we have the evidences of civilization thrust upon us at once. Fine houses, hospitality, perfect cooks, abundance of good things to soothe the appetite, architectural adaptations to suit the climate, burglars and watchmen, which no one can imagine to have existence in barbarous or uncivilized communities. There must be magistrates, courts of law or justice, prisons and executioners: in a word, a complete skeleton of civilization covered up in that tissue of virtues and vices which pervades most social communities.

Macao, (pronounced *Macow*,) is a Portuguese settlement on a small peninsula projecting from the south eastern end of Hiangshan. Its Chinese inhabitants are governed by a *tsotang*, or lieutenant of the district-magistrate of the town of Hiangshan, aided by a sub-prefect, called the *kiun-min-fu*, who resides at Tsienshan, or Casa Bianca, a few miles from Macao. The circuit of this settlement is about eight miles, and its limits landward are defined by a barrier wall running across the isthmus, where a small guard of Chinese troops is stationed to prevent foreigners from trespassing upon the Inner land. The position of Macao is very agreeable; nearly surrounded by water, and open to the sea breeze on every side, having a good variety of hill and plain even in its little territory, and a large island on the west called Tui mien shan, or Lapa, on which are pleasant rambles, to be reached by equally pleasant boat excursions; it is also one of the healthiest residences in south eastern Asia. The principal drawbacks upon its advantages so far as a residence for foreigners goes, are the want of carriage roads, and a choice of society—for the Portuguese and foreign population, generally speaking, are debarred from mutual intercourse by the ignorance of each other's language.

The population of the peninsula is not far from 30,000 of whom more than 5,000 are Portuguese and other foreigners, living under the control of the Portuguese authorities, and the Chinese under the rule of their own magistrates. The Portuguese pay an annual ground rent for the settlement, and are not allowed to build dwelling-houses without the walls of the town; the houses occupied by the foreign population are built on the plan of those in other eastern cities, large, roomy, and open, and from the rising nature of the ground on which they stand, present an imposing appearance to the visiter coming in from the sea. Since the conclusion of the late war with the English, the Portuguese have obtained some additional unimportant

privileges from the Chinese, but their own bigoted, short-sighted policy, and narrow-minded regulations, are the chief obstacles to Macao becoming again the place of wealth and trade it was an hundred and fifty years ago, when it was incomparably the richest mart of Eastern Asia.

There are a few good buildings in the settlement; the most imposing edifice, St. Paul's church, was burned in 1835. Three forts on commanding eminences protect the town, and others outside of the walls defend the waters; the governor takes the oaths of office in the Monte fort; but the government offices are mostly in the Senate house, situated in the middle of the town. Macao has been the usual residence for the families of merchants trading at Canton, and during the English war most of the business was conducted there; since the peace the trade has returned to the city, and many of the families have removed to Hong Kong, but the authorities are endeavoring to revive the prosperity of the place, by making it a free port. The Typa anchorage lies between the islands Mackerara and Typa, about three miles off the southern end of the peninsula; all small vessels go into the Inner harbour on the west side of the town. Ships anchoring in the Roads, on the east, are obliged to lie about three miles off the Praya Grande or Key, in consequence of shallow water, and large ones cannot come nearer than six miles.

Few cities in Asia exceed Macao in respect to climate, though it has been remarked that few of the natives attain a great age. The maximum temperature at Macao is 90° F., and the average summer heat is 84°; the minimum is 50°, and the average winter weather is 68°, with almost uninterrupted sunshine. Fogs are not of very long continuation at Macao, but on the river they prevail, and at Whampoa are more frequent than at Canton. Northeasterly gales are common in the spring and autumn, often continuing to blow three days. During the rainy and foggy weather of March and April, the walls of houses become damp, and if newly plastered drip with moisture. Silken and woolen dresses mildew, and great care is required to prevent them, and books, and cutlery, and paper from spoiling.*

The settlement of Macao by the Portuguese began in the year 1537.

August 18th. After breakfast we visited several of our countrymen, and from all received a kind greeting. A pleasant dinner-party closed the day's pursuits, and at sunset we embarked for the ship, quite weary, though we had ourselves been carried in sedan chairs, during the hottest part of the day. These vehicles are very convenient and agreeable, except for a notion that it is indecorous for one man to require two of his fellow citizens, if not his Adamitic brothers, to bear him upon their shoulders through the streets, in sunshine or rain, like beasts of burthen. This notion made the sedan chair repugnant to me at first; but I was very soon sweated into a notion that the chairmen were not dishonored by receiving pay for carrying weight; and the labor of carrying an hundred and fifty pounds of humanity, being less than that of bearing a barrel of flour, while the recompense is larger, led to a train of thought which reconciled me to be carried, seated in a comfortable arm-chair, swung on two poles and nicely curtained from external observation as well as from weather, borne between two stalwart Chinese coolies, who were doubtlessly proud of their long queues, and never thought there was any thing to admire in the full, round, hard muscular development of their legs. The "chair," as it is familiarly called here, is probably a Portuguese contrivance; it is indispensable to every house of pretension to the smallest degree of respectability. A lady could not well go abroad at night or visit in the day without a "chair;" because the streets of Macao generally are two narrow to permit the passage of vehicles drawn by horses or mules.

19th. The wind blew so freshly to day that we had only one boat-communication with the shore. The roadstead is uncomfortable.

Sunday, August 20th. Temperature of the morning delicious; breeze fresh and fair. By nine o'clock, A. M. the ship was underway, and at seven o'clock, P. M. again an-

* The Middle Kingdom. By S. Wills Williams. New York. 1848.

chored at Whampoa. Ten hours is a short time to occupy in passing over the distance, about seventy miles in a straight line between the two places in a ship-of-war. Here we are after having sailed, since our departure from New York, 17,123 nautical miles.

I cannot attempt to describe the objects of interest observed along the river. The forts at Boca Tigris which offered very ineffectual resistance to the passage of the naval force of England in the unholy opium war, are pleasant to look upon. The crowds of boats, and junks of various dimensions and form and rig, differing in all respects from those used by Christian nations are striking to him who beholds them for the first time. The low meadow-like lands through which the river flows, and the high hills in the back ground, form together an agreeable, though tame landscape; but the pagodas, about which there is much conjecture and very little if any thing certain, are remarkable objects in the scenery.

Whampoa is a Chinese village twelve miles from Canton, where all foreign ships lie to discharge and receive cargo. Foreigners are not permitted to reside on shore at this place. For this reason, there is a sort of floating town, consisting of rows of hulks, fitted up as shops or stores in which traders reside. There are Americans and Englishmen here, who find profit in furnishing supplies of ship chandlery and sea stores to the many vessels engaged in the Chinese trade.

21*st*. By day dawn the ship was surrounded by boats freighted with all things imaginable for sale. The chattering and contention of the women rowing the boats, in the competition to get along side the ship, entertained us; to keep them from boarding in a body, it became necessary to threaten to sink their boats by dropping shot into them. Some of the women were bold enough to clamber into the cabin through the ports, where their laughing, smiling and generally good humored behavior secured them from the rude expulsion their uncerimonious entrance had won. The blandishments of these Chinese water nymphs are not of a character to captivate any but the most susceptible old sea-dogs; and it is believed the gentlemen of the cabin were all too hard-hearted to be affected by the very amiable glances of their morning visiters.

At nine o'clock, A. M., with a party of officers I left the ship in the Fire Fly, a tiny steamer, commanded by an enterprising American, which plies between Whampoa and Canton, for the accommodation of passengers at a dollar a head, and of smugglers on terms which were not communicated, though presumed to be agreeable to the high contracting parties. We puffed along amidst tea-junks and salt-junks, sampans and fast-boats which might number thousands, and in about an hour and a half landed in front of the foreign factories, in one of which we were hospitably received, and entertained for very many days. The "fire-fly" was built in Boston and brought here on freight. This fact indicates the dimensions of the vessel as well as the appropriateness of her name; in size she compares to sea-going ships in the manner that a fire-fly compares with the largest beetles. The energy and activity of our country are manifest in this first attempt to establish a steam line on the Canton river, which will do more to extinguish local prejudices, and extend correct notions about European power and civilization than any system of teaching heretofore attempted. The agency of the steam engine in moral and social improvement is a theme worthy of a night lecture.

CHAPTER XXI.

Dietetic routine among foreign residents at Canton; Compradór; Looking-glass street; City gate; Thinness of Chinese glass; Square in front of the factories; First fruits of millet as an offering; Tea-tasting; Effects of a typhoon; Street decorations; Fa-ti garden; Sha-ming; Propitiation of the fire-god; Chinese dinner; Beggars; Laquered ware; Flies; Dr. Parker's hospital.

The manner of living in the East differs so much from our customs that it is worthy of a note. The large commercial houses established here employ many clerks, so that each one includes a tolerably large family. It is not unusual to find from fifteen to twenty at table. A substantial breakfast is served at eight o'clock, A. M.; at one o'clock

a lunch, called the "Tiffin," which is a very pleasant meal, consisting of steaks, chops, and cold joints, with wine, cheese and beer; and half past seven or eight o'clock, P. M. is usual time for dining. The work of the day is over, and the company, faultlessly dressed in white, assembles to dine deliberately and to enjoy, and it has not been my fortune to see in any part of the world dinners more systematically composed, better cooked, or more elegantly served than at the houses of foreigners resident in different parts of Asia. The number of well-trained attendants at table is always a subject of remark by newly arrived strangers.

The *menage* of American and European merchants in China is under the direct management of a steward, termed compradór, who is held responsible by his employer for all household affairs. He acts also as cashier or banker for the establishment, and is the common medium of intercourse with shopmen, small traders, and servants. The compradór is consequently a man of importance, and often acquires considerable property through the perquisites of office. He commonly receives a small percentage on all monies which pass through his hands, deducted from the face of bills paid by him. A stranger who visits Canton for a few days on becoming a guest in a mercantile house, deposits his money with the comprador, who pays his cheques given in payment for whatever he may purchase in the streets. From these cheques the comprador deducts about one quarter of one per cent, and pays the shopman the balance. When the visitor departs the comprador settles the account. The advantage of this custom is very considerable, and is both a convenience and a protection to the stranger visiting the celestial city, the denizens of which are famed for ability in making bargains, with ignorant travellers.

When the climate is considered, one who reflects upon the subject, cannot fail to conjecture that the dietetic habits of foreigners in China are not well adapted to the preservation of health. The consumption of meats, of various distilled and fermented liquors is very much greater than the body requires in hot climates. The organs are exposed to excessive stimulation, and consequently to fall into diseased conditions. It is not doubted that the habits in question are more deleterious to the health of foreigners than the persistent high temperature or other qualities of the climate, which is commonly supposed to be enervating, and therefore to require the use of stimulants to counteract its influence. Those who have the power to resist temptations of the palate and to live abstemiously, generally speaking, endure a tropical climate very well and enjoy good health.

August 29th. After tiffin, accompanied by a friend sojourning here and a cooley to serve as interpreter, I set out in pursuit of very thin glass plates to cover objects viewed under the higher magnifying powers of the microscope. We were led through crowded streets about six feet wide, paved with slabs of granite. The houses on each side are two stories high, and most of them are occupied as shops for the sale of different kinds of wares. Oblong strips of white cloth, about a foot wide, marked by Chinese characters, hung from above each one, supposed to be the sign-boards of the dealers. Our walk led us to one of the city gates, which was simply a narrow passage through a thick wall, beyond which the street seemed to be simply a continuation of that in which we stood. Wherever we stopped we were surrounded by Chinese, who seemed to regard us with much curiosity, which, I doubt not, we reciprocated.

A street, occupied almost exclusively by manufacturers and dealers in mirrors and glass ware is known to foreigners as Looking-glass street. Here we saw some very gaudy and some pretty paintings on glass, used in the decoration of lanterns of various forms and dimensions. Every article differs in form or color from the same thing in the United States. The glass of Chinese mirrors is wonderfully thin; it is often not much thicker than a coat of varnish might be. I obtained some plates not exceeding an hundredth of an inch in thickness.

We saw shops filled with articles manufactured of nickel, called here white copper, and with us German Silver.

August 21st. This is the new year day of the Pursees, who are celebrating it by exploding fire-crackers and fire-works of various kinds. The Chinese are preparing for

the feast of lanterns. There is so much presented to the eye, the weather is so hot, and I am so unwell that I despair of making notes of interest.

Since my visit to Canton in 1836, the space in front of the factories has been extended; a sea wall has been built, and the square has been handsomely laid out and planted with trees. Among other things, there is a little bunch of millet growing, which is daily visited by a pious Hindoo merchant. He carefully watches the progress of its growth that he may be sure to gather the first fruits as an offering to his God. This morning every head of millet is carefully enveloped in paper that not a seed may be lost.

This square is very beautiful. The walks are covered with chunam, a composition of lime, oil and sand, which becomes very hard. Foreigners walk here of afternoons under the shade of the trees for exercise; and very many of the clerks as a means of relaxation and exercise pull in boats for an hour before dinner. The boats are very long, very light, and of very graceful form. They are built by Chinese workmen after American or European models, under the direction of members of the several boat clubs.

I visited to-day a professional tea-taster. Tea tasting is a very important vocation; upon it rests, in a great measure, the purchase of entire cargoes. The decision of the tea-taster regulates the price the merchant pays to the manufacturer. The tea-taster examines the qualities of tea in several ways. He judges of its sensible properties first by the eye, observing its colour, the thickness and curl or twist of the leaf, and then by its odour. Lastly he infuses a definite quantity in a definite quantity of boiling water for five minutes, measured by a sand-glass, and tastes the infusion. By these means he determines the quality of the tea offered for sale.

A physician of eminence long resident here informs me that tea-tasters are very subject to consumption of the lungs, which he attributes to the quantities of tea-dust constantly inhaled by them while inspecting teas. They have a repugnance to tasting green teas which are regarded by them to be very poisonous. Tea-tasters of experience receive for their services from two to three thousand dollars annually.

September 1*st.* I was called early this morning to observe on the river the effects of a typhoon which has been raging all night. The storm is terrible. Many of the trees in the square are prostrate. The first-fruit offering so carefully watched by the Hindoo has disappeared. Boats and junks are adrift and driving against each other, producing havoc and destruction. Many are upset. It is estimated that not less than a thousand persons, men, women and children have been drowned within reach of our sight; we have not the power to afford to the poor exposed wretches the smallest assistance. People are navigating through the square in boats.

2*nd.* The weather is again pleasant. It is reported that the typhoon has caused great destruction of life and property at Hong Kong, and at Cumsing-Moon. At the latter place an English ship, having on board opium valued at $400,000, sunk at her moorings, and nine English and American ships were stranded. High praise is awarded on all hands to the officers and crew of the United States ship Plymouth for their exertions to save life and property. They rescued from destruction one cargo of opium valued at $600,000, and saved many from drowning. At Hong Kong not a vessel escaped damage, and some were totally wrecked. The loss of life in the Chinese boats and junks during the gale has been very great. The shores of the river through its entire length to the sea are strewed with wrecks and the bodies of those drowned.

On visiting old and new China streets this morning we found an awning or canopy of muslin stretched between the eaves of the houses on opposite sides; and many large glass chandeliers are suspended from above over the centre of the streets. At short intervals, festoons of various colored silks and crapes are stretched from side to side, and before every house are hung variegated lanterns. There is also a display of many beautiful flowers, and plants trained to grow in the shape of dragons and various animals. At the end of each square or crossing a stage extends across the street, at a sufficient elevation to permit pedestrians to pass be-

neath. These stages or orchestras are decorated in the most gaudy and fantastic manner that Chinese ingenuity can devise. At intervals of about twenty yards are suspended across the street, about ten feet above the pavement, oblong boxes or frames which contain figures about fifteen inches high representating dramatic positions. They are heroic, warlike, amatory and comic. Some of these representative figures of fierce heroes have the eye-balls rolling in a most ridiculously extravagant manner. One of the frames exhibits a boxing match between a man and horse, the latter having been just felled by the fist of the former. The preparations are still incomplete.

The sedan chair of a rich silk merchant, passing through the street, struck against and demolished a chandelier. The vehicle was immediately stopped. The merchant and little girl of about eight years old got out and walked off, leaving the chair cooleys to do battle with the outraged mob of Chinese.

After tiffin we pulled up the river in a hong boat, which might be likened, in the opinion of some, to the body of an omnibus decorated in Chinese taste, set upon a boat. Our destination was the fa-ti (fatey) gardens, which are situated on a creek about two miles above the factories or residences of foreign commercial factors. The destructive effects of the gale were very manifest. Very many boats were employed in dragging the bottom of the river in order to recover property lost, or the bodies of drowned friends. Men were hard at work repairing the damages of their tiny vessels, while the women were rowing and sculling them. While sculling they commonly stand at one side, slightly inclining towards the oar, and often assume very graceful attitudes. To prevent them from drowning, in the event of falling overboard, children of two or three years old wear buoys (life-preservers) of gourd or cork strapped to their backs.

The gardens had been flooded during the gale, and very considerably injured. They contain many specimens of dwarfed trees, and of plants trained into the forms of dragoons, birds, beasts, and various fantastic shapes.

On the way home we passed through a section of a boat-town called Sha-ming, where there is a very dense population consisting of the lowest orders of people. Many of the large boats are very elaborately carved and gilded. Many of them, inhabited by public women, are the resort of opium eaters and smokers at night, which is usually spent by the Chinese in dissipation. The *coiffure* of the women is very peculiar. Foreigners are not permitted to enter these floating temples of debauchery.

It is quite impossible to describe the compact masses of boats, or the skilful manner of threading the passages amongst them. No jehu in Broadway exhibits greater dexterity in avoiding collisions with vehicles and wheels than do the Chinese boatmen in shooting past each other without contact, though often almost near enough to strip off the paint or varnish.

We stopped at the "pack-house" of Gowqua, a manufacturer of floor matting, fans, rattan wares, &c. Matting is sold here at from nine to fifteen cents the yard, according to the width and quality.

After dinner we visited the streets to see the celebration, some of the preparations for which I have noted above. Hundreds of thousands of glass cups of oil were burning in the chandeliers. All the shops were brilliantly lighted. Musicians were seated in rows on each side, looking perfectly passive while they played and sang in a shrieking falsetto voice, accompanied by wooden drums, gongs, and stringed instruments: one resembled a lute in form, and one yielded sounds like those of a hautboy. At one corner were two giant statues in papier machè, surrounded by some smaller figures, designed to represent gods. The street might be compared to an immensely long call-room: though crowded with men, some of them half-naked, not a female of any age was seen. It seemed strange to me that such amusement should be enjoyed by men alone; without women to participate in the festivities.

I asked a shopman the meaning of all this demonstration. He replied, "oh! this some jos pigeon—chin-chin jos, he no makey burn up in winter time," that is, literally rendered, this is a god-business; to propitiate him to

prevent us from being burned up when the fires are lighted in winter.

Sunday, Sept. 3rd. The Chinese are keeping up their festival. Little girls with little feet, dressed in the most gaudy manner are carried about to see the show.

4*th.* Visited "Curiosity street" and "Physic street." The latter is occupied by Chinese doctors, and the former by shops for the sale of fancy articles, consisting chiefly of carved buffalo horns, wood, jade stone, bronze, and various materials.

A friend residing at the hotel invited us to a Chinese dinner at three o'clock, P. M. It was served in pint bowls, and consisted of thirty dishes, among which were turtle, turkey stuffed with nuts, beehe la mar, snails, shark-fins and other articles to us unknown, all of which we tasted. A deficiency of salt characterized the cooking, and every thing was done to rags. We were supplied with chop-sticks instead of knives and forks. The attendants were amused that we did not find every thing palatable. I asked one if a dish was not chicken. "No" said the boy, placing himself in attitude and leaping along the floor like a frog.

6*th.* The system observed by street beggars is worthy of note. The class is numerous. One is elected king who assigns his subjects to a particular beat or street every day in which they may beg. Each beggar carries a small gong, or two pieces of bamboo with which to make a noise. They have a right to enter any shop and keep up a din on the gong or sticks until they receive a gratuity, but must depart on receiving a single "cash," equal to about one mill. But until he pays such gratuity; the shopman cannot eject a beggar from his premises. The beggar seizes on an occasion when customers are in the shop to commence this importunity.

7*th.* Twenty-eight fast-boats were destroyed in the late typhon, and sixty dollars are demanded to-day to convey a passenger to Macao.

10*th.* Visited an establishment on the river where laquered ware is manufactured. The laquer is prepared from sumach and is said to be very poisonous, and even dangerous to visitors. All the painting and gilding is done by hand. We visited the house of Pontinqua, recently a very wealthy Chinese merchant. It has been frequently the site of negotiations with foreign ministers, and for this reason is regarded with interest. The establishment, though much out of repair, is still pretty. It has a private theatre, and many ponds and gardens about it. We were shown several models of steam engines and steam boats, which indicate that the proprietor is a lover of mechanical invention. The temperature is too high to write.

We visited a tea-factory near Honan, where they convert old black-teas into green by roasting them with prussian blue and gypsum—sulphate of lime.

13*th.* Although the weather is very hot, I see no flies, even about the fish and meat shambles in the streets: none in the house; indeed, I have not noticed a single fly. I am told, however, that flies are abundant about the shops where sugar and sweetmeats are sold.

14*th.* At Dr. Parker's hospital I saw two men who had been shot yesterday in a conflict with pirates on the river about sixteen miles from Canton. One of them died immediately; from the back of the other an iron ball was cut out from beneath the skin. The ball was an inch in diameter and rough. It had been cast in a mould with several, from which it had been broken, as the points of connection indicated.

17*th.* *Sunday.* Listened to a religious discourse in the Chinese language, delivered by Dr. Parker at his hospital to an audience of fifty or sixty natives, men and women, who were attentive and orderly in their deportment. A Chinese attached to the institution delivered a prayer extemporaneously, and afterwards religious books were distributed to the congregation. In the opinion of the writer, the union of the palpable benefits conferred by the practice of medicine and surgery upon the Chinese, with religious instruction constitutes one of the most effi missionary means yet devised for diffusing a knowledge of christianity. To appreciate justly the labors of Dr. Parker in this field requires but a single visit to the Opthalmic hospital under his direction at Canton.

In the afternoon we walked through some of the back streets, which were still in gala dress, consisting of dramatic effigies, lan-

terns and flowers. Banks of Chinese musicians performed at the corners, screaming in falsetto voices more piercing and dissonant cries than caged canaries in a bird fancier's garret.

We visited an old man who deals in curiosities and articles of *virtu*. Pieces of old china are much prized, as well as the laquer of Suchau and Japan, which is admitted to be superior to any manufactured in the province of Canton. Jade stone is also very highly valued. A large sized bed-screen of ebony inlaid with jade was exhibited to us and offered at the price of $600.

CHAPTER XXI.

Overland mail; "Straits' Times;" Variety of nations and castes represented at Canton; Little foot women; Water cooleys; Parsees; Jews; Lascars; Mender of glass-ware; Mail time between the United States and China; Effects of the overland mail on Trade; American clipper ships; English; Character of British merchant service and that of the United States; Causes; Officers of commercial marine in case of emergency may be employed in the Navy; Commerce with China; Protection of; its value to the nation; Tea-trade.

Sept. 20.—"The mail is in; here is the "'Straits' Times!'" and my friend handed me a half sheet of foolscap, in form of a newspaper, printed at Singapore, containing an epitome of the news, collected by the editor from the latest papers of Europe and the United States, brought by the steamer. This sheet is made up during the few hours the packet stops at this central point, and is ready for immediate distribution on arriving at Hong Kong. A boat pulled by twenty or thirty oars—called a "pull-away boat"—is at once despatched with the "Straits' Times" to Canton; and another to Macao. The mail is examined and distributed at Hong Kong. The letters for Canton are forwarded by a steamer; those for Macao, Cumsing-moon, &c., by sailing or pull-away boats, and reach their place of direction six or eight hours after the delivery of their harbinger—the Straits' Times.

The whole commercial world of Canton is in an excited condition. Merchants and clerks collect on the squares or gardens in front of the factories and there discuss the public news, while they impatiently expect their private letters. I said the whole commercial world of Canton: I mean the world constituted of Christian or European and American commercial residents at Canton; for the eastern residents and Chinese merchants have not yet become universally interested in the news of Europe and the United States. But they begin to feel the commercial effects of these periodic arrivals of early information from the western world; they perceive that foreign factors sometimes await these arrivals to determine their purchases of silks, teas, &c., or their sales of "drills," "Spanish stripes," lead, gingseng, &c., and the time is not far distant, perhaps, when merchants of all nations in China will participate in the excitement produced by the arrival of the "overland mail."

I was sitting on the veranda about three o'clock, P. M., when the "Straits' Times" came to hand. I was soon alone; the perusal of the little paper occupied only a few minutes. I looked out on the avenue or passage in front of the factories and on the American Garden. In the latter the effects of the late arrival on the few Americans and English there, was perceptible by the accellerated step and more animated gesticulation of the walkers than is common—but I did not perceive any change in the gait of the Asiatic *dramatis personæ*. Here may be observed men from various eastern as well as western countries, differing as widely from each other in complexion and garb as they do in political and religious opinions, to each of which they respectively adhere with equal tenacity. Arguments will as readily induce them to abandon one as the other; the tail of the Chinaman and the tall cap of the Parsee are as important to them as the dogmas of their respective religious creeds.

September is a sultry month at Canton: the light air which prevails from the northward comes over the land heated by a powerful sun, exposure to the rays of which is very injurious, and sometimes fatal to foreigners. The costume varies with the season. Now, let us note the passers-by as they present themselves to view.

There, is a respectable Chinese shop-keeper

or merchant in a long robe or tunic of white grass cloth—Chinese linen—his glossy queue or tail eked out to his heels with silk braid or ribbon, and his well-shaved head shaded by a fan. Here, we have the captain and mate of some English merchant ship, in white jackets and trowsers, and hats cased in white muslin shaded by an umbrella; they are followed or attended by a Chinaman, very polite and obsequious in his manner, who offers them cards. I imagine I hear him. "You want-she crape shawl? sil-ek dress? chessman? ivory thing? me talkey true? What thing you want-sh-e? You come my shop, suppose you looky you no buy, mas qui. My card, number 1 New Cheena street." Thus he solicits the custom of new comers, who sometimes pay well for their experience in Chinese shopping.

Next, note the slender, neat-limbed Hindoo in gay colored skull-cap, broad trowsers and short tunic of white muslin, following, perhaps, his Hindoo master, distinguished by his turban and the length of his tunic. Next we have a Chinese house servant, arrayed in a white tunic or jacket falling to the hips, full breeches, muslin stockings or gaiters, secured by silk garters below the knee. These are tidy looking persons, but among foreigners they are reputed to be not very cleanly. Next you are surprised to see some American or English resident in white jacket and heavy black felt-hat walking rapidly: fashion has condemned them to black hats, which are certainly not a very eligible cover for the head under a tropic sun. Near the garden gate, under the shade of the wall, sits a woman on a low stool busily sewing; her deformed extremities—the little feet—peeping from below her dress. One is shocked by this barbarous custom of crumpling the foot into a sort of ball, by the continuous application of bandages from an early age, before the bones attain their full degree of hardness. Near by walks another of her sex, mincing along as if she had suffered amputation at the ankles and painfully stepped on the extremities of her leg bones. It is astonishing to newly arrived Europeans that these "little-foot women" can walk at all, and they are not less astonished when they see them bearing a child, or other considerable burthen on their backs, or engaged in field labor. Their gait, however, is very insecure. Fashion condemns some females of all classes to be thus deformed in the province of Canton; but, I am told, this custom prevails to a much less extent at Shanghai and in northern sections of the country; some resident has assured me that, even here, public opinion is forming against it. The compression of the feet is begun at different ages, from one or two to eight or ten years, and is effected by the application of a fillet or bandage, so arranged that the bone of the heel and toes are made to approach each other, the former being made to form a continuous line with the axis of leg bones. The bandage is constantly worn.*

Here we have a cooley or porter bearing heavy buckets of water suspended from the ends of a bamboo supported on his shoulder. A single garment, a pair of scanty breeches, constitute his entire costume. He moves in a sort of trot; the water is prevented from splashing out of the buckets by an inner hoop, or a piece of board floating on its surface. There, is a fine looking man whose erect carriage, nicely trimmed black mustaches, head and shoulders thrown backwards indicate that the external world has not his exclusive esteem or approbation. A tall chocolate-colored turban of muslin, long pointed shoes, white pantaloons and surtout of muslin complete the costume of the Parsee merchant. He is a follower of the creed of Zoroaster. There are a number of this sect resident here from Bombay and other parts of India engaged in various branches of commerce. They have their sacred animals and their servants of their own castes, whose costume consists of a close skull cap, and thin, loose shirt and trowsers. They may be seen occasionally bringing water from the river in white copper urns or jars. We see too, among the pedestrians, the eastern Jew in heavy turban and white tunic girded around the loins with a cumerband or girdle, and Hindoo and Lascar sailors from the Calcutta ships.

A little removed from the woman sewing by the gate, sits an old Chinaman on a stool and before him a basket of broken glass and china ware. Beside him is a small box containing the tools with which he repairs lamp-shades,

*See, Williams,—Middle Kingdom.

finger-glasses, tumblers, teacups, &c., not by cementing the pieces, but by metal rivets. A drill grasping at its point a minute piece of corundum, forms holes for the rivets which are driven by a small hammer. The charge for this work is ten rivets for four "cash," which is now equal to about three mills of our money. The vessels thus repaired are tight and as useful, though not as perfect in appearance as previous to fracture.

I was here interrupted in my remarks by the appearance of my friend, announcing the receipt of a letter sixty five days from Boston. Such speed is almost incredible even now; twenty years since it could not have been conjectured that a letter would ever be conveyed from the United States to Canton in a few days more than two months. But Boston and Canton will be still more closely approximated in point of time, when a railroad connects the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States and a system of steam navigation is established across the Pacific, between California and China.

Early information as to the changing condition of the markets in Europe and America is very important to merchants in China. It is not more than ten years since it was not uncommon for ships arriving at Canton after a short passage of, say 120 days, to retain all letters brought by her, excepting those for the commercial house to which she was consigned, until her cargo was purchased and stowed, in order that she might reach home, and enter the market with less competition. So much advantage was derived frequently from this policy, that it led to experiments in naval architecture which resulted in the construction of several fast sailing vessels for the Chinese trade, among the most famous of which is the Sea-Witch of New York, a ship that sailed from Canton to New York, a distance of about 15,000 miles in 77 days, or an average of nearly 195 miles a day. The admirable performance of these vessels excited a rivalry among British merchants, and they have built a Sea-Witch, but she is said not to equal in speed her American namesake.

As long as there was no means of conveying information with equal or greater rapidity than by these clipper ships, their owners possessed, to a considerable extent, the advantages of a limited monopoly of the trade with China. The improvement in the construction of ships led to another change in this trade. Ten years ago it was deemed impracticable to pass through the China seas against the monsoon; but now we find ships sailing to and from Canton every month in the year, and making as good time against the monsoon as they did formerly, when they always passed through the China sea with a fair wind.

But the establishment of the overland mail has curtailed the advantages derived from the clipper ships, because it gives to all interested, equally early information of the condition of the markets at home. In this view it increases the number of competitors, and probably lessens the profits of the trade to the larger houses, because those of comparatively small capital are enabled to share the business with better prospect of success. Still, the clipper ships can convey their cargoes earlier to market and obtain all the benefits which may be derived from any unusual demand in the markets, although the knowledge at home of the slower vessels being on their way must of course, in some degree, affect the value of the clipper ships, because they carry comparatively less than slower vessels of equal custom-house measurement.

A considerable period must elapse before the British commercial marine can rival that of the United States in the qualities of vessels and ability and skill in their management. At sea American ships out-sail the British, and in port their cargoes are discharged and loaded in very much less time. This may possibly depend upon those habits of rapid eating with which British travellers in the United States have taken so much pleasure to charge us. Be this as it may, it is very certain that the gastronomic habits of English and American ship-masters, as classes, are very different; the latter are abstemious men, both in food and drink, and very few American merchant vessels supply their seamen with grog, which seems to be the source of the evils complained of in the British commercial marine. In the navy of the United States grog is the cause of much unhappiness, crime and disease; I hope the time is not far distant when the spirit ration

will be abolished. That the moral character of the British commercial marine is inferior to that of the United States, we have British testimony. In a speech delivered, on the 15th of May, 1848, in the House of Commons, on the proposed abrogation of the Navigation Laws, Mr. Labouchere, the President of the Board of Trade, said,

"Our mercantile navy suffers exceedingly in comparison with the mercantile marine of other countries, not from the want of protection, but I regret to say from evils inherent in its constitution, which no amount of protection will cure, but which, on the contrary, I believe the removal of protection will have a great tendency to eradicate. We find that while the character of British sailors, so far as skill in the handling of ships goes, stands as high as ever, the character of British shipmasters is at a low ebb, partly on account of their want of nautical skill, and partly owing to their low moral characters. Owing to these causes, our ships are fast losing their character in the commerce of the world. I must say, I think it is better to look these evils in the face than endeavor to dismiss the truth from our minds. The consequence is, that merchants prefer, in too many instances, to trust their cargoes to American, Bremen, Swedish, and other vessels, rather than to British ships, because of the injurious effects produced in respect to the latter by the want of professional capacity and of proper moral conduct on the part, in too many cases, of the shipmasters. One can scarcely read a page of the document I have just referred to without being struck by the painful description of those masters."

Mr. Labouchere is correct in the advice he gives: "it is better to look evils in the face than endeavour to dismiss truth from our minds." But, before the class of British ship-masters can compete with the class of American ship-masters, it must be made their interest to make practical experiments on the effects of temperance in food and drinks, and learn the value of general information and high moral tone, which they very much need, in the opinion of Mr. Labouchere. Our own ship-masters have only to pursue the course they are now in to maintain the character which they owe to their merits, both professional and moral. It is pleasant to know that in event of emergency of any call for a sudden and great increase in our navy that there is a class of men in our commercial marine from which efficient naval officers may be speedily formed. They are already experienced in the affairs of life, of the world, are able navigators and skilful seamen; that they possess moral integrity may be inferred, from the trusts reposed in them by merchants and capitalists, who confide ships and cargoes to their guidance and disposal. The administrative faculty involved in command of men has been already acquired to a considerable extent on board of merchant vessels. The naval officer requires all the qualifications above alluded to, and, in addition, a knowledge of the purely military part of the profession, including gunnery and naval tactics, which may be acquired by a few months study and practice, to the extent necessary to manœuver and use efficiently a ship's battery. In a word, ship-masters are already able to navigate and sail ships; they require to know how to fight a ship's battery to render them efficient officers. That no very long time is necessary to acquire this knowledge of gunnery, may be inferred from the history of our privateers in the war of 1812-15. It requires a considerable time to make skilful seamen; hence, as our navy is kept, small circumstances might arise calling for its rapid augmentation, and I repeat, it is satisfactory to know we have a class of citizens already so far instructed that they could be at once converted into masters and lieutenants in the navy, provided they could be brought to accept appointments of the kind, for many are not willing to believe that years spent in lawful commerce, has rendered them unfit to command in military expeditions, or made them, in any point of view, the social inferiors of naval officers.

But let us hope that, while they may ever be ready to obey, it will never be necessary to call officers of our mercantile marine from the peaceful pursuits of commerce to serve as officers on board ships of war. Our merchant ships float on every sea, and there should be navy enough to protect them wherever they go, under all circumstances, to give them the security and confidence, which the mere presence of our ships of war

inspire in the breasts of Americans engaged in foreign climes in lawful pursuits. Their presence is most appreciated where civilization is least developed. Our diplomatic commissioner in China found that his reception by the Chinese Governor Seu was accelerated by the opportune arrival of a sloop-of-war; the landing of Commodore Geisinger, with a suite of twenty officers in uniform at Canton exerted more influence over the Chinese mind than correspondence and diplomacy carried on for weeks. Indeed, it was jocularly said, "the cocked-hats carried the day for the ministry"—the Spanish envoy has not been received, although he has been waiting several months; it is very certain that the presence of a Spanish frigate or two would command for him immediate attention.

In a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the 15th May, 1848, when the occupation of Yucatan was under consideration, Mr. Miller, a senator from New Jersey said, "The control of our commerce, or of the commerce of the world, does not depend upon positions on land, upon towers and fortifications overlooking and commanding narrow straits and narrow isthmuses. It is not Gibraltar, nor Malta, nor the Mosquito coast, nor any other position on land that secures to England the control of commerce. It is her power and position on the broad sea which gives her the advantage. The nation that would control the world's commerce must control the element upon which it floats. The mistress of the sea will be the mistress of commerce. England may seize upon Cuba; she may cover the isthmus of Yucatan all over with threatening fortifications, yet, as long as our proud navy can ride in triumph 'o'er the dark blue sea,' I fear no evil to our commerce."

Our commerce has grown more rapidly than our navy; a much larger force could be advantageously kept afloat, and in no part of the world could vessels of war be more beneficially employed than in the East Indies, either for the improvement of the navy itself, or the advantage of commerce. Throughout these seas there are innumerable islands, rocks and shoals of uncertain position which might be examined and determined by our cruizers. The Chinese sea swarms with pirates who should be swept from our path. Here is employment for several years, worthy the ambition of our naval officers, and perhaps more immediately useful than surveying the Dead Sea, or observations at Chiloe to determine the parallax.*

Without regard to any other considerations, the value of our commerce might be urged as a sufficient reason for maintaining a small fleet of ships of war in these seas.

According to R. Montgomery Martin* the trade of the United States with China for the year ending June 30th, 1845, was £2,265,885, or, at 4 shillings to the dollar, $9,063,540. It may be safely stated that the value of American trade in China, including imports and exports, is ten millions of dollars, exclusive of the cost of the ships employed. It may be estimated there are forty American vessels engaged in commerce with China, employing eight hundred sailors.

China receives from the United States manufactured cottons and cotton yarns, (Mr. Martin says, "In domestics we cannot compete with the United States")†—lead, ginseng, a few clocks, which are exchanged for teas, silks, crape shawls, rhubarb, cassia and cassia oil, annis and annis oil, camphor, floor-matting, musk, fans, fire-crackers, &c., &c.

The planters of the south, and miners of the West in furnishing raw materials; the manufacturers of the north and east in producing fabrics, and the agriculturists who supply beef, pork, flour, &c., to feed those who pay them by labor in the cotton fields, lead mines, manufactories, or in loading and sailing the ships, which bring something to shipwrights and other mechanics in their construction and repair—in a word, every class of laboring citizens is more or less interested

* In the "Chinese Commercial Guide" for 1848 there is "a list of new dangers in the China Sea," which embraces thirty-two rocks and shoals, not set down on Horseburgh's charts. All these lie between 5° 44′ and 11° 11′ north latitude and between 107° 28′ and 118° 52′ east longitude. They have all been noticed since 1840.

* China, political, commerical and social, in an official report to her majesty's government. By R. Montgomery Martin, Esq., late her Majesty's treasurer for the colonial, consular and diplomatic services in China, &c. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 432-502: London, 1847.

† Since 1849 very little if any lead nas been exported from the United States; those employed in the lead works of the west have engaged in the more lucrative mines of California.

in this commerce, as may be readily perceived, if we fancy for a moment that it were suddenly abolished. All those employed in the building and fitting out of ships; timber and lumber men, shipwrights, joiners, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, plumbers, block and pump makers, rope makers, sail makers, caulkers, riggers, ship chandlers, &c., and indirectly, the agriculturists whose stevedores, hemp growers, canvas weavers, products feed all those classes; the tailors, shoe makers and hatters, who clothe them; the apothecaries and physicians who serve them when sick; and the clergymen who look to their morals,—all are more or less benefitted. To take away the commerce with China would also lessen the employment of merchants and their clerks, as well as that of the lawyers who gain fees from pleading insurance and salvage cases, to say nothing of personal and criminal suits growing out of the conflicting interests of so many classes. But this is not all; ladies of all conditions, spinsters and matrons, young and old must be disobliged because crape shawls, and various silks, fans, &c., which they now delight in would be taken away, and tea, a great bond of social intercourse would disappear, and with it many of the innocent pleasures of civilized life.

"Enlivening, mild and sociable tea,
Scandal-compelling green, pekoe, bohea;
Without Thee, philosophy once could write,
And wisdom's page the moral pen indite;
Without Thee Damosthetes their laws enacted,
Without Thee, thought, and taught, and dreamt, and acted;
With this celestial gift, how strange that we
Should neither better eat, nor drink, nor think, nor see."*

Commerce is the great motor power which gives activity to agriculture, mining, manufactures, the mechanic arts; and encourages law, medicine and divinity. Commerce then is one of our cardinal interests; the prosperity or adversity of which is felt throughout the length and breadth of our land. Surely it deserves to be protected and extended; the government spends no money more profitably than that for the interests of navigation, surveys, light-houses, and for maintaining an efficient navy, because without a navy our commerce would be interrupted, and ships plundered and crews murdered in many parts of the world, where the knowledge of a protecting force being at hand, is their only security. It is unwise to grudge the money required to support a navy; if the people did not spend money in this way, if, in other words, the navy were abolished, all merchant vessels must be fully armed and manned to fight their way, protect themselves: this armament and necessary augmentation of the number of the crew, would be an additional expense to the present cost of sailing vessels, and to meet it, an increase charge for freight, insurance, &c., would be made, to be at last paid for by the people, the consumers of the goods, probably to an amount far greater than that now paid to support a navy.

In his report to the House of Representatives, on "steam communication with China and the Sandwich Islands," (May 4th 1848,) Mr. T. Butler King, holds the following—

"The amount of our tonnage on the Pacific and in the China trade is much larger than that of Great Britain; yet she maintains a strong military establishment at her newly acquired posts in China, and a naval force almost equal to our whole navy, and also a large squadron on the west coast of America, with mail steamers conveying passengers and intelligence in all directions, for the protection and encouragement of that commerce, while our Government has not, until recently, taken the first step towards placing our merchants on a footing, in those respects, with their British competitors. Her policy is to protect her commerce with her navy, and, by extending her trade, make it support both her manufactures and her navy. Take away either, and the others will perish, and with them British supremacy. She collects the elements of commerce from other countries. Nature has sown them broadcast over ours. Their development and value will depend on the wisdom and energy of our commercial policy. *So vast are the products of our soil that a reduction of one cent a pound on cotton, or one cent a bushel on Indian corn, or two cents a bushel on wheat, would be a larger sum of money than the ordinary annual appropriation for the naval service.* Who does not know that the price of these products depends on commerce? Cut off your power to export, and what would be the value of these great staples? They

*The Dessert.

would not pay transportation to market. In fact there would not be a market for them. Were we to manufacture every pound of cotton we produce, and forbidden to export what we could not consume, the fabrics would be of comparatively little value; and this would be the case with all products, whether of the soil or the loom. This shows that our wealth as a nation depends in a great degree on commerce."

Smuggling is perpetrated to so great an extent in all of the ports of China at which foreign trade is permitted, that it is impossible to obtain an accurate statement of the value of exports and imports. It may be safe, probably, to estimate the imports and exports at $40,000,000 each.

The recognized imports into China in 1844, on British account, amounted to		$15,929,132
The principal items of which were—		
Woollen goods,	$2,898,866	
Cotton fabrics, including yarns,	4,722,826	
Cotton, raw, from India,	6,816,382	
In this year there were smuggled in 40,000 chests of opium, valued at		20,000,000
Total of British imports,		$35,929,132
A small quantity of the opium was probably on American account, but how much it is not known.		
The exports from China on British account for the year, exclusive of treasure, amounted to		17,925,360
Leaving the enormous balance against China of		$18,003,772

The imports of merchandise into China from the United States in 1844, amounted to		$1,320,170
Amount of treasure,		1,125,700
The chief articles of import from the United States were—		
Cotton manufactures,	$660,257	
Raw cotton,	166,965	
Lead,	108,495	
Ginseng,	137,560	
The exports from China, on American account amounted to		$6,686,171
Deduct the amount of our imports into China, as above,		1,320,170
Balance of trade against the United States,		$5,366,001

$1,125,700 of which was paid in specie, and $4,240,301 in bills on London, which goes so far, of course, to create a balance of trade against us in England.

The imports into China, from all other countries, amounted to but	$401,025
The exports from China, to all other countries, amounted to	895,896

It therefore appears that Great Britain and the United States are the great competitors for the China trade.

We have stated the balance of trade against China and in favor of Great Britain, for 1844, at		$18,003,772
If we deduct from this amount the balance against the United States,	$5,366,001	
And *all other* countries,	494,871	
		$5,860,872
We have the exact balance of against China, and in favor of Great Britain, which was paid in treasure.		$12,142,900
It is stated in the report of the select committee of the House of Commons on commercial relations with China, dated 12th July, 1847, that the *recognized* imports into China were, in 1845,		$20,390,784
In British ships,	$16,073,682	
In American ships, including specie,	2,909,669	
All other countries,	1,417,433	
To this is to be added 38,000 chests of opium, smuggled, valued at		23,000,000
Total imports for 1845,		$43,390,785
The exports from China were—		
To Great Britain and her colonies,	$26,697,321	
To the United States,	8,261,702	
To all other countries,	1,972,875	
		36,931,898
Balance against China, paid in treasure,		$6,458,886

The balance of trade in favor of China, and against the United States, in 1845, paid by bills on London, was $5,352,033

It appears from the synoptical tables of the import and export trade from foreign countries at the port of Canton, for the year 1846, published in the "Canton Mail" of July 8, 1847, that the recognised imports from all countries were:

In British ships,	$9,997,583	
In American ships,	1,609,404	
Ships of all other countries,	783,226	
		$12,390,213
Add for opium, smuggled, estimated at		22,000,000
Total imports,		$34,390,213
The exports were—		
On British account,	$15,378,560	
On American account,	5,207,378	
On account of all other countries,	1,611,525	
		$23,198,493
Balance of trade against China, paid in treasure,		$11,192,720

Balance of trade against the United States, paid in bills on London, $4,597,967.

This statement shows a falling off in the British imports for 1846, as compared with 1845, of $6,096,099, and a diminution of exports on British account of $11,319,761, while it exhibits a gradual but steady increase of American imports into China. This statement would probably be slightly varied if we had returns from the other ports open to foreign trade, but as they are mostly supplied by re-exportation from Canton, it cannot be far from correct.

The select committee of the House of Commons, before referred to, assign, in their report, the cause of this declension in the British trade with China. They say:

"In reporting on the condition of our commercial relations with China, your committee regret to state, on undoubted evidence, that the trade with that country has been for some time in a very unsatisfactory position, and that the result of our extended intercourse has by no means realized the just expectations which had been nat-

urally founded on a freer access to so magnificent a market.

"Whether we look to the table of exports, which mark a declension of exports in nearly every branch of manufacture, or listen to the statements of experienced merchants and manufacturers, we are brought to the same conclusion.

"We find the exports of cotton manufactures decline between the years 1845—46 from £1,735,141 to £1,246,518 in value; those of woollens, in the same period, from £539,223 to £439,668.

"We find that on a great proportion of the trade for the same years the loss, taken both ways, *i. e.* that on the manufactures sent out and on the tea brought home in payment, may be fairly stated at from 35 to 40 per cent.; so great, indeed, that some manufacturers have abandoned the trade altogether, and that much of the tea lately sent home has been sent on Chinese account, the English merchant declining to run the risk of the venture.

"We find that the difficulties of the trade do not arise from any want of demand in China for articles of British manufacture, or from the increasing competition of other nations. There is no evidence that foreign competition is to be seriously apprehended in the articles of general demand The sole difficulty is in providing a return.

"Stripping the question of minor details, which may fairly be left out, as not affecting the general results, and setting aside the junk or native trade, which, though considerable, does not assist in the general adjustment of foreign accounts, the trade of China may be thus shortly described. The bulk of its transactions are with England, British India and the United States. * * *

"From England, China buys largely of manufactured goods. From the United States, the same articles. From British India, opium and cotton-wool to a very large amount. In the year 1845 these imports, as will have been seen above, were valued at $43,390,784, equal to £9,401,336.

"The whole of this vast import has to be paid for, with slight exceptions, by tea, silk, and silver, though sugar and Chinese grass, as a substitute for hemp, may possibly be hereafter of some importance.

"The payment for opium, from the inordinate desire for it which prevails, and from the unrecognized nature of the transaction, which requires a prompt settlement of accounts, absorbs the silver, to the great inconvenience of the general traffic of the Chinese;* and tea and silk must, in fact, pay the rest.

"Of these, England and the United States are nearly the sole consumers; and thus it happens that the advantages which were so naturally expected from commercial access to a civilized empire of above 300,000,000 people, are practically limited by the extent to which these countries are willing or able to consume these two products of the soil of China.

"The balance of trade will no doubt adjust itself sooner or later, in accordance with the severe lessons of loss and disappointment which the three last years have taught; but unless we can look forward to an increased consumption of those products in which alone China has the means of paying, this adjustment can only be made at the cost of largely diminished exports, and of restricted employment to every branch of industry connected with them.

"The export of silk from China is steadily on the increase; and as it labors under no heavy taxation on its entrance either into the United States or Great Britain, and as the access now opened to the port of Shanghai has brought us into closer contact with the districts most productive of it, there is every reason to hope that it will grow with the growing wealth and luxury of nations, and progressively become an element of greater importance amongst the means of payment.

"It is perfectly obvious that the causes which operate to depress and limit the trade between China and Great Britain do not prevail or exist in the intercourse between the United States and China. In the former case the balance of trade is enormously against China; in the latter it is largely in her favor. The balance of trade in favor of Great Britain, as stated for 1845,—'46,—'47, is founded on an estimated value of the opium which is smuggled in, and is probably below the mark. The British Consul, as we have seen, estimates it at two millions of pounds sterling, or about $10,000,000 per annum. The average balance in those years against the United States, and in favor of China was $5,347,442. The average price of exchange at Canton on London for nine years, from 1847 to 1846, was six per cent.; or, to state it differently, a bill of exchange on London of $100 was worth at Canton $106. Consequently it cost our merchants an average of $366,101 per annum for the three years, 1845,—,46,—'47, to adjust this balance of trade, and that amount should be added to that balance, which will make it $5,713,543. Some years past the rate of exchange was much higher. In 1834 it was fourteen per cent., and the amount paid to settle the balance of trade against us must have been near *one million of dollars*. We therefore perceive that to the extent we introduce American product and manufactures, in exchange for those of China, we obviate the payment of this tax.

"In 1844 our imports into China were carried in forty-nine vessels, of 10,292 tons burden. This brings up the number of our vessels employed in all parts of the Pacific and in the China trade to nine hundred and eighty-five sail, of 328,441 tons. The British trade with China in that year was carried on in two hundred and six British vessels, of 104,322 tons, and ninety-six Hong Kong lorches of 5,774 tons. Total, three hundred and two vessels, of 114,096 tons. We have no returns of the number or tonnage of British vessels employed in other parts of the Pacific.

"As has been stated, the recognized imports into Canports can cause a corresponding increase in imports. The China trade being essentially a direct barter trade, it is obvious that unless means can be found to take from the Chinese a larger amount of their principal export, tea, there seems but a limited prospect of deriving for the British manufacturing interests all those advantages which the new position we hold in the country, consequent on the late war, must lead them to expect."

* The British Consul, in his despatch dated 15th of February, 1847, says—"How long the Chinese will be able to sustain this continual drain, (*i. e.* of £2,000,000.) of the precious metals is impossible to determine; but the fact being now well established that the export of tea to England cannot be increased under the present system of duties, it is not difficult to foresee that, unless a new opening be found for a larger consumption of China exports in our markets, a gradual reduction must take place, either in the quantity or the prices of our imports in China, until they come to a proper level. On the other hand, it is beyond calculation to what extent the Chinese would purchase our woollens and our cottons, were we enabled to take their produce in return, especially after having attained the legalization of the opium trade."

He further states, and is confirmed by Sir J. Davis in the statement, that "it must be borne in mind that the import trade is regulated by and depends wholly on the export trade, and that therefore only an increase of ex-

ton in 1846 amounted to $12,390,213. Cotton and cotton fabrics constituted more than two-thirds the value of these imports, viz—

Raw cotton,	$5,095,407
Cotton fabrics,	3,684 49-
Total,	$8.779.99
The total amount of imports from all countries into Canton in the year 1841 was	$17,843,084
Of this, raw cotton amounted to	$6,983,347
Cotton fabrics,	5,383,093
Total,	$12,366,44

"Showing that more than two-thirds the value of the imports of that year also were of cotton and cotton manufactures

"Most of this raw cotton goes from British India, and is used by the Chinese in the manufacture of the coarse fabrics worn by the common people. It is very inferior to American cotton, and the articles of it are, of course, not as durable or desirable as our manufactures. Hence it is that the import of American fabrics into China is gradually and surely increasing. The common people, in the middle and southern parts of China, are clothed almost exclusively in these coarse cotton cloths; and when we consider that the empire contains more than three hundred millions of people, it may not be regarded as an over estimate to suppose that they consume more cotton than is now grown in the United States. *It is quite clear, therefore, that the great field for American enterprise and skill, in our intercourse with China, lies in the adaptation of our cotton fabrics to the wants and tastes of the Chinese.*"*

Mr. S. Wells Williams† states the value of foreign trade at the five ports, as far as ascertained from Consular returns for 1845, but does not include the American and Spanish trade at Amoy, nor the trade at some of the other ports under other flags. The dollar is reckoned at 4s. 2d. sterling.

Imports.

Canton—Imports in vessels of all nations,	$14,062,811
Amoy—Imports in 33 British vessels,	707,973
Fuchau—Imports in 5 British and 3 American vessels,	401,575
Ningpo—Imports in British vessels,	49,911
" Bremen "	13,834
" American "	5,414
Shanghai—Imports in all vessels,	5,875.104
Total value of imports for 1845,	$21,116,622

Exports.

Canton—Exports in vessels of all nations,	$30,564.526
Amoy—Exports in British vessels,	742,749
Fuchau—Exports in British and American vessels,	332,333
Ningpo—Exports in British vessels,	83,976
" Bremen "	2,217
" American "	5,357
Shanghai—Exports in all vessels,	6,465,849
Total value of exports for 1845,	$38,197,007

"The contraband trade in opium is estimated to amount to upwards of forty thousand chests, at a sale price of $20,000,000; which with the pearls, gold and silver ware, and precious stones, and other articles smuggled, the Spanish and other trade at Amoy added to the above amounts, will swell the total of the foreign trade to about eighty-five millions of dollars annually, exclusive of the Russian trade at Kiakhta."*

An idea of the nature of the export trade from China to the United States may be formed from the following statement of exports for the year ending June 30th, 1848.

Green teas, 15,340,615 lbs. / Black teas, 3,998,248 lbs.		Total, 19,338,863 lbs.
Pongees, pieces,		70,878
Handkerchiefs,		59.413
Sarsnets,		15.238
Senshaws,		8,705
Satin Levantines,		1,287
Levantine handkerchiefs,		1,400
Crape shawls and scarfs,		113.593
Nankeens, pieces,		1,471
Raw silk, packages,		589
Cassia-peculs,		7,200
Matting, rolls,		22,957
Fire crackers, boxes,		32,029

The history of the foreign trade of China shows the value of the presence of a naval force in the Chinese waters. Mr. Williams correctly remarks that a mixture of decision and kindness, when demanding only what is in itself right, "backed by an array of force not lightly to be trifled with or incensed, has always proved the most successful way of dealing with the Chinese, who, on their part, need instruction as well as intimidation. The constant presence of a ship of war on the coast of China would have perhaps saved foreigners much of the personal vexations, and prevented many of the imposts upon trade, which the history of foreign intercourse exhibits, making in fact, little better than a recital of annoyances on the part of a government too ignorant and too proud to understand its own true interests, and remonstrations on the part of a few traders, unable to do more than protest against them."

* The Middle Kingdom.

* Speech of Mr. T. Butler King, House of Representatives, May 4, 1848.

† The Middle Kingdom: a Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, Religion, &c., of the Chinese Empire and its inhabitants. By S. Wells Williams. 2 vols. Wiley & Putnam. New York. 1848.

A couple of war steamers of light draught of water, to visit the northern ports at regular intervals, authorized to carry a mail and perhaps a limited number of passengers, would be of very considerable value in aiding the support and extension of American trade in China. English merchant vessels bring coal as ballast, and hence there is generally an abundant supply at moderate rates. If there were a doubt on this point, coal might be sent from the United States in vessels which would carry it at a low freight in place of shingle or other ballast.

Export of Tea for the year ending June 30th, 1848. (From the "China Mail," August 3rd, 1848.

	Green. *lbs.*	Black. *lbs.*	Total. *lbs.*
To the continent of Europe in 7 vessels,	443,400	1,618,300	2,051,700
To Australia in 17 vessels,	1,652,000	510,500	2,162,500
To the U. States in 38 vessels,	15,345,035	3,993,617	19 333,647
To Great Britain in 92 vessels,	6,963,700	40,730,600	47,694.300
	24,394,z30	46,853,017	71,247,147

It is estimated that in addition to the above, about 5,000,000 lbs. were exported to Russia, making the aggregate of about seventy-six and a quarter millions of pounds of tea exported in the year. Great as this quantity is, it is only a fractional part of the quantity consumed by the Chinese themselves. They drink tea almost exclusively, at all times and on all occasions. If we take the population at 360,000,000, and allot a half ounce of tea daily to each inhabitant, which would not be an excessive quantity, we have a daily consumption of 11,250,000lbs. averdupois—or, a greater consumption in one week than by all the rest of the world in a year—making the annual consumption in China 4,106,250.000; or at a quarter of an ounce daily 2,053,125,000.

A quarter of an ounce daily, is 5lbs. 11oz. a year; a half ounce daily is 11lbs. 6oz. a year. Mr. Fortune estimates the consumption at 6lbs. a head, which is too small; if we take 10lbs., we find the consumption to be 3,600,000,000lbs. a year.

While the home market is so extensive, a variation in the present foreign consumption to the extent of a few millions of pounds, will not affect the price in the Canton market very considerably!

CHAPTER XXIII.

Hong-boats; Boats on the River; Water-omnibus; Honan Temple; Effigies of Gods; Priests of the Temple; Sacred Hogs; Altar Furniture; Sandalwood Dust; Interment of Priests; Visit the Abbot; Chinese dislike of Foreigners; Religious Temples; Religion of the Chinese; Religious Sects; Toleration; Analogies between Budhism and Romanism; State Religion of China; Excerpts from Confucius; Meng-Tseu—his writings; Chinese notions of hereditary Nobility truly Republican; Titles of Nobility conferred upon Elephants by the Siamese; Chinese notions about War and Heroes.

September 12.—I joined several gentlemen and, under the guidance of Mr. B——, a young missionary, to whose courtesy we are all indebted, visited the "River Temple," better known among foreigners as the Joss House of Honan. It is nearly opposite to the foreign Factories, and is reached in a few minutes. I propose to note some things by the way.

Our party embarked in a Hong-boat, so called from belonging to a hong, or house, and being used to convey persons on the river in pursuit of the business of the hong. Boats of this kind are neatly and comfortably arranged; each one has a covered cabin having lattice shades, and furnished with a table and seats, all ornamented conformably to Chinese taste. The vessel is managed by a crew of from four to six men.

We entered over the bows, and were soon pushed out from amidst the throng of tankea boats or sam-pans moored fast to the shore, into the throng of boats of all kinds, pulling and pushing and sailing up and down and across, seemingly in a confused maze. A crowd of ants or bugs tumbling over and jostling each other affords a comparison; but the Chinese do not jostle each other's vessels; but the skull-oar gracefully and dexterously moved controls the boat and seems to impart to its movements the intelligence of an animal. Any one who has attentively regarded the crowd of boats on the river opposite Canton, will admire the skill of the boatmen as well as that of the boatwomen

and will be prepared to believe the assertion that there are no less than 84,000 boats* of various descriptions floating on the river about the "City of Rams." Thousands of the inhabitants have no other home or resting place; and seldom tread upon dry land.

A boat packed, as it were, full of human heads and eyes, passed near us, for no bodies were visible, save those of the rowers. Our missionary guide recognised in this merely one of the many ferry boats, a sort of water-omnibus, which ply on the river. The Chinese pay for their passage two or three "cash," or one to two mills of our currency for a passage, while a foreigner who does not speak the language will be charged at least twenty-five cents. Strangers in the western world experience similar treatment from "knowing" cabmen and others of the family.

We landed at a spot thronged with Chinese walking in different directions, and made our way past several stalls where betul nut and various eatables were exposed for sale. A narrow street quickly brought us to the entrance of the temple. A court yard, with banian trees almost forming an avenue, brought us to a chief gate which is supposed to be guarded by two gigantic figures, about fifteen feet high, which represent deified warriors. Passing this gate, we were in a court having a temple on the right and one on the left, tenanted by gilt idols, whose altars are furnished with utensils of white copper, while a principal edifice about 100 feet square fronts on the side of the court or square opposite the gate. The center of this temple is occupied by three gigantic Budhist gods, all of which are gilt—and the walls to the right and to the left are lined by gilt figures of life size, which represent those priests of the temple whose exemplary lives placed them on the list of saints in the Budhist calendar.

While we were looking at these various figures several priests entered, and in a very decorous and reverential manner prostrated themselves three times before the images, touching the forehead against the ground. The heads of the priest are entirely shorn of hair, and they are arrayed in dingy yellow robes. They resemble exactly the talapoins, priests of the same faith whom I have seen in Siam.

There are three or four similar temples in the rear of this, having open paved courts or areas between, ornamented by pots of flowers. On the right of this range of temples, separated by a wall, is another set of courts and temples, in one of which are several large hogs, the votive offerings of the devout, which are plentifully fed until they die naturally. In one of these latter temples or edifiices, on the second floor, are twenty-four gilt figures of sainted priests, and represented personifications of the sun and moon, and of the God Shivŭ with eight arms. Our guide, Mr. B——, who has formed acquaintances among the priests, proposed to one who accompanied us, to purchase one of these idols. He replied that one could not be sold—the cost would be more than several hundred dollars.

In all of the temples we visited, the altar furniture or utensils were of white copper, and joss-sticks were burning in bowls filled with dust or sawings of sandal wood.

The architecture of these buildings is in Chinese style; high roofs and long projecting eaves, with a full proportion of dragons of various forms stuck on as ornaments. The walls are of blue bricks and the roofs of tiles.

From the temples we went to the dining hall of the priests, whose refectory is probably not equal to that of some of the Roman Catholic convents we read of. Wherever we met them, the priests were very polite. Mr. B —— availed himself of every opportunity to present portions of scripture or tracts in Chinese to those who would receive them.

After death, the bodies of the priests are burned, and the bones deposited in earthen urns, which are placed together in a rude charnel house, and at stated periods removed to a common vault. The place of burial, burning, &c., we visited. Our Chinese cooley was afraid of the bones and would not enter the charnel house.

We were followed everywhere by some dozen idle Chinamen and boys seemingly from motives of curiosity rather than disrespect. And we were glad to be rid of the annoyance by entering the apartments of the

* Description of the City of Canton.

chief priest or abbot, who had been known to Mr. B—— several months. He received us with much urbanity, and entertained us hospitably by presenting tea, &c. He asked many questions which exhibited very considerable intelligence, and on being asked "why is it that the Chinese dislike foreigners?" he replied, "the Chinese generally do not dislike foreigners; those who molest strangers are bad men who do not distinguish; during the war the soldiers committed assaults on the people, injured women, and they have not forgotten."

This Chinese gentleman stated in reply to questions, that about forty acres of land are included in this establishment. There are 160 priests and 70 attendants—lay brothers. Each priest has a cell or separate apartment, but all assemble at the same table in the common dining hall. There is morning and evening worship in the temples and liturgy.

The establishment cannot fail to remind the traveller of the extensive convents in Roman Catholic countries; the forms of worship by the Budhists resemble those of Roman Christians in many particulars.

The religious temples of different kinds about Canton exceed a hundred and twenty. Besides these, every house, every shop, every boat, large and small, contains an altar for private worship. The Chinese then are a religious people, although their religious and superstitious proclivities are pitifully misdirected.

What is the religion of the Chinese?

"To-day I held a long conversation with my friend Cha-Amui: I asked him whether he worshipped the sun or moon as Divinity or professed the religion of the state; and whether Confucius or Fou-Hi invented it? He replied: 'The religion taught by Koung-Tseu, Confucius, is found in the Y-King, a sacred book; it is founded on immutable principles; it is demonstrated by our nature and by all that surrounds us. It was given by Fou-Hi and extended by Honan-Ti, Yao, and other virtuous sons of Heaven.

"'*Tien*, that is God, gave man senses and memory, consequently reason: he permitted that, being obliged by necessity, we might make use of it: thus we learn to till the earth, and to cultivate those arts and sciences which are necessary to life. By our reason we know his will and our duty towards our fellow-men. This is the doctrine in our sacred books. God commands that the children of earth may enjoy all comforts and pleasnres compatible with their good. Confucius extracted these principles from the Y-King; he formed them into a body of doctrine which my fathers taught me and which I follow. I worship the sun, moon and other planets, but only as the works of God.'

"I asked an explanation of the Y-King, in which is found the Trigrames of Fou-Hi, to see if my friend observed a religion free from superstitions, and to show at the same time that the Chinese recognise and adore a Supreme Intelligence through his works—

"Look through nature up to nature's God."

"The most ancient monument in China is the work of Fou-Hi, written by his own hand, in he year 3,460, before the Christian era. In the eyes of men, there being nothing more brilliant than the sun and moon, Fou-Hi determined that the sign or letter *ming* [which expresses thought] should be placed in the temple of the Supreme God.

"'Of all the symbols which can be selected to designate the sacred altar,' says Confucius, 'where men worship the Father of all lights there is none more expressive than the letter *ming*, because it embraces the attributes of Gê, the star which presides over the day as well those of Yué, which illumines the night.'

"After Fou-Hi taught men to worship the Divinity, and to modify their natural impulses by the observance of precepts supposed to be divine, the first sect mentioned in the annals of the times is that of Tao-Se. If there was not in Europe a history of the weakness of the human mind, of the tenacity of sectarians, of the madness of the credulous, of the inconceivable alliance of wisdom with stupidity, and of virtue with vice, I might find ample reason to give you an account of all that was done by the disciples of Tao-Se. They flourished for more than two thousand years, but now they are held in contempt.

"The sect of Lao-Kium appeared afterwards. It was tolerant and based on good morals; but its disciples destroyed them by the introduction of falsehoods. Its princi-

ples consisted in subduing those passions which are destructive of tranquillity, all violent desires, and not to fear death. But the followers of Lao-Kum, desiring to deceive the people, recurred to magic, and were discredited.

"The sect most in vogue in China for the past 1760 years, is that of Budha, a divinity which the Chinese call Fo. It may be regarded as the religion of the people. In the year 65 of the Christian era, the emperor Ming-Si dreamed that the holy man, indicated in the works of Confucius, appeared in the west. He sent envoys to seek for him: they supposed he was in the country of the Lamas, and found him in the idol Fo! They joyfully brought this piece of wood, believing they carried the image of the holy man, accompanied by bonzies or priests, disseminators of those fables which envelop the sect of Budha, which is still more in vogue in Cochin China and the kingdom of Siam.

"The Chinese government is tolerant, yet it supports mandarins to expose the falsities of this as well as those of similar sects. The people generally, in all parts of the world, are tenacious of their prejudices. Uou-Tsoung, a distinguished emperor, in the year 845 of the Christian era, ordered the destruction of more than forty thousand temples belonging to different sects; but they still continue to exist.

"The sect of *literati* called Ju-Kiao had its origin *Anno Domini* 1400. It was instituted by a society of literati to honor the memory of the learned. It gave explanations of the Y-King, and supposed they would find in it a demonstration of the attributes of Divinity.

"The emperor Kang-Hi, initiated in the mysteries of this sect, declared to Mezza Barba, a delegate from the Pope, that the Chinese do not offer the first fruits to the material heavens, but to the Supreme Being, recognised through his works; thus far extends the conception of the literary men of China.

"I asked a learned Chinaman of great reputation 'why the sect of Fo was tolerated in the Empire, seeing that the state religion was simple, rational, and free from superstitions?' He replied, 'to be free it is not enough for a man to feel that his property and person are beyond the reach of tyranny, his mind must not be embarrassed by obstacles in the way of his pursuing or acting out those ideas which make him contented. The people are all religious, but in different ways; some worship many gods, and each after his own method; that is, accordingly as he may have been taught in infancy.* Thus, they are persuaded that their mode of seeing is best; therefore, the worship which they of choice pay to the Divinity ought not to be disturbed because it would make them unhappy.

"'If it is tyranny to despoil a man of his property, it is still more tyrannical, more cruel, and more insupportable to invade the opinion he forms of the Supreme Being. Reason demands that the state should tolerate the sects adopted by its citizens, and there be a just balance between one and the other, so that they shall not be oppressed. Perhaps it would be more advantageous to man, that God should deprive him of the faculty of thinking, than he should feel himself obliged to follow the caprice of an imposter.

* "——— Por ventura
Escolheste o teu culto? O culto segues,
Que ao nascer no paterno ninho achaste;
Que teus pais te inspirárão, que imitaste;
Que o imperio do habitō constante
Em teu peito firmou de largos annos.
Algum outro accrescenta vozeando:
A tua fe por certo não foi obra
De hum alto exame, e da razão profunda,
Que os sagrados motivos analysa
Da crença; do local foi tudo acaso:
Nasce o homem Christão sobre as ribeiras
Do Tibre, nasce Idōlatra no Indo,
Musulman no Euprates, como nasce
Na Europa branco, negro na Ethiopia."
Poesios de Elpino Durience—
Lisboa 1812—*tom* 1., *p.* 14.

Literally rendered thus:

Perchance did'st thou thy religion choose?
The worship found at birth in your parents' home ye follow;
Ye imitate the inspirations of your fathers;
The influence of constant habit
In thy breast long years confirmed.
It increased through some other, preaching:
Thy faith was surely not a result
Of deep investigation, or of the mind's action,
Which analyzed holy thoughts from birth:
Perhaps all was from the locality:
Men on the Tiber's banks
Are Christian born; but idolaters upon the Indus,
And upon the Euphrates, Mussulmans, just as
In Europe they are white, but black in Ethiopia.

"'What sect is free from errors? What priest does not say, '*Give me rent* [tithes?] *and I will give you an equivalent with God. I will cause his blessings to fall upon thee as fast as he may grant the power.*' The sect of Fo is permitted in the empire, in reason of its tolerance, but not to encourage its priests in the propagation of their doctrines.'

"In fact, toleration augments religious worship; or hence they provide that the Chinese shall adore God as it may please them best. Fernando Mendez Pinto observes, 'some give to the bonzies all they possess, thinking thus to purchase pleasures in a future life: the bonzies give them bills of exchange, at one per cent, payable in heaven, just as if they had correspondents or money had value there: others assure their devotees there is nothing but to live and to die; only the ignorant have a care for any thing besides.' The first conform to the doctrines of Plato; the latter to those of Zeno. It is certain that both these illustrious men led virtuous lives."*

The religion of the plebeian Chinese is that which recognises Budha as the God. Its tenets inculate renunciation of the world and subjection of the passions; but as far as relates to the people, it seems their worship is vicarious, the priests performing the ceremonies without much popular aid.

Like the priests of the Christian Church of Rome, those of Budha are bound to celibacy and chastity. As a sign of purity they shave the entire head, and profess to eat no animal food, and to subsist by alms. They live together in convents or monasteries, and there, periodically every day in prescribed form, pray to Budha. But besides the gratuities they receive, they obtain something by selling incense sticks, holy candles, gilt paper for sacrifices, as well as charms and spells, which are probably as efficacious as those dispensations or indulgences which were once very profitable to Romish priests in different parts of the world; they also receive fees for attending funerals, and for feeding or laying hungry ghosts on All Souls day, and for other services.

Besides Budha, the people worship their ancestors and sacrifice by burning paper, candles, sandal wood, &c., to various spirits or gods of evil. Shopmen have their god of profits, and boatmen burn paper in propitiation of the god of winds.

The religion of the State embraces the moral and political principles taught by Confucius and his followers. I translate the following account of them from Andrade:

"'Nothing is so natural and simple,' said Confucius to his disciples, 'as the doctrine I teach. I learned it from our superiors. They take as the basis of its principles three mutual laws; between king and subjects; between husband and wife; between parents and children, and practice five virtues:—1. Universal charity; 2. Equal justice to all; 3. Compliance with established customs and usages; 4. Rectitude of spirit and of heart to speak the truth on all occasions; 5. Sincerity and frankness to exclude deceit. Thus they were respectable while they lived and immortal after death.'

"'Man is rational; consequently organized to live in society; but if this be not well ordered, he is without government; nor is a government regular without subordination; and not having subordination, it is without authority; nature indicates this rather than the social compact. It was conferred on birth and on merit; the former by age, the latter by endowments of the mind and heart. Thus parents govern children, and in communities of men, he who knows how to please and make himself obeyed, governs; a rare talent, a sublime science, a natural gift, but conceded to few.'

"'To possess more humanity than other men is to be better; therefore, worthy to rule those who are inferior. Humanity is the first and most noble of all the virtues. To love man is to have humanity, and to possess perfect virtue. Every one is required to regard himself and to love his neighbor. The love which each one owes to himself and to others has difference which gives to each one his due: this difference is called justice.'

"'On the whole, neither justice nor humanity is arbitrary; they are independent of our will in consequence of laws established for the benefit of society. That every one may discharge his duties without disturbing

* Cartas Escriptas da India e da China nos annos de 1815 a 1835 por José Ignacio de Andrade a sua mulher D. Maria Gertrudes de Andrade. Lisboa 1843. Carta LVI.

the economy of order, it is necessary to observe that rectitude of mind and heart, that prudence which commands the examination of all things with a view to know the truth, and weigh justice. From its course both may be derived; they require a faithful and inseparable companion; that is a vigilant guard against self-love and other enemies which constantly pursue.'

"'This companion is sincerity; it alone gives merit to humanity. When there is no sincerity, there is hypocrisy which seems virtue. What I have indicated to you in five precepts are the links of the chain most capable of uniting men in reciprocal security.'"

Maxims Selected from the Works of Confucius.

1. Two essential things spring from morality; the cuitivation of natural intelligence and the duration of the people.

2. It is necessary that the understanding should be instructed in the knowledge of things to enable it to separate good from evil.

3. He is a philosopher who knows books and things to their foundation; who weighs every thing and submits every thing to the empire of reason.

4. The part of heaven which appertains to man is intelligent nature; conformity to this nature constitutes a rule; the care to ascertain it, and subject himself to it, is the exercise of a wise man.

5. Good conduct consists in being in all things sincere and conforming the soul to the universal will; that is, to do to others as I desire they may do to me.

6. In the medium consists virtue; he who passes beyond it reaches no farther than those unhappy persons who are prevented from reaching it.

7. Reward injury with indifference, and kindness with gratitude: this is to be just.

8. Speak not in praise of yourself to others, for they will not be convinced. Speak not ill of yourself, for they judge you to be much worse than you can represent yourself.

9. Man, even the most insignificant, can do something good; for if not capable for science, he may be for virtue.*

*According to Justin Martyr. Confucius was a Christian. He says "they who live according to reason, are Christians, though they may have been called Atheists, such as Socrates and Heracleitus, and the like among the Greeks, and among the barbarians, Abraham and Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael, and Elias, and many more which for brevity's sake I omit."—*See Small Books on Great Subjects, vol. 2. Christian Society in the Second Century.*

Above you have the fundamental principles of the literary sect of China. The morality of Confucius is as clear as the metaphysics of the literary are obscure.

1. It is the duty of the philosopher to investigate what is the first cause of the universe; whence emanated the secondary agents; what are the attributes of those agents, and what is man?

2. Nothing is made of nothing; therefore, there is no principle derived from nothing.

3. All things not existing from all eternity, and there being a principle anterior to things, reason is, without doubt, that principle.

4. Reason is an infinite entity or being, without beginning or end; without this quality it could not be the cause of causes.

5. The cause of causes does not live; consequently, does not think, and has neither will, form, corporeality, nor spirit.

6. Reason is the primary cause: it produced the air in five emanations, which it made sensible and palpable by as many other vicissitudes.

7. The air thus produced is incorruptible as reason: it is corporeal.

8. Reason is the first cause; chaos is the second.

9. The air contained in chaos produces heat and motion.

10. Heat and cold produce generation.

11. There are four physical agents; motion, rest, heat and cold.

12. From these four agents spring five elements, or the air endowed with qualities.

13. From these five elements were born heaven and earth, the sun and moon and the other planets. The pure air arose and formed the heavens, and the dense air formed the earth.

14. Heaven and the earth, united in their virtues, engendered masculine and feminine.

15. Heaven, earth and man are the origin of all.

16. This the universe was consisted of three parts, or principles of all the others.

17. Heaven is the first: it comprises the sun, moon, planets, stars, and the region of air wherein are dispersed the five elements, generators of secondary causes.

18. Earth is the second: it comprises the mountains and seas, and has universal agents efficient in movement.

18. Man is the third primitive cause; he possesses generation and appropriate actions.

20. The world was formed by accident, without design, without intelligence and without predestination; it was formed by the unexpected conspiration of the first efficient causes.

"The subtilities of the literary may be appreciated from the examples given above. Madame de Stael deciphered and explained the doctrine of the German philosophers; but she would find it much more difficult to do the same for the doctrine of the Chinese literati."

It is said that Meng-Tseu understood Confuscius better than any other one of his disciples.

"Meng-Tseu was born in the kingdom of Tsou, now a province of Canton, in the beginning of the fourth century prior to the Christian era; in the same epoch Socrates and Xenophon flourished at Athens. In the time of Kong-Tseu, (Confucius,) Thales and Pythagoras shone in Greece.

"Meng-Tseu suggests the origin of these synchronisms in the following idea: 'All men possess the same form and material constitution; therefore, there is a common nature amongst them.' This accounts for the similarity betwixt the Greeks and the Chinese, although the two nations had no communication.

"The doctrine of Meng-Tseu is the same as that taught by Confucius; but the disciciple gave a required development to the thoughts of his master. He demonstrates that goodness and justice proceed from heaven; and limits morality and politics to the fruition of these celestial gifts.

"'Man, following the dictates of his heart, acts well; he acts badly when he neglects the intellectual gifts which heaven gave the creatures of our species.' Meng-Tseu recognises free will in man, and consequently merit for his actions.

"To convey an idea of the morality and politics in vogue in China, at that epoch, it is enough to give an epitome of two chapters of the work of Meng-Tseu; the first of the first part, and the seventh of the second. Compare them with the Machiavellian doctrine followed in Europe, and judge of the preference which some declaimers give the moderns over the ancients.

"Meng-Tseu had great knowledge of the human heart: his works bear the imprint of superior talent. He possessed natural acuteness to discover the oppressive projects of kings and their ministers. Irony in his hands was more useful than it would have been in those of Socrates. He observed with sagacity, and described with talent.

"The empire was then divided among various ambitious kings, engaged in taking advantage of the weakness of their neighbors for self-aggrandizement, causing the arts and commerce to flow into their dominions, without troubling themselves as to the honesty of the means employed for this purpose.

"*Chapter I.* Lean-Hoei-Han having invited to his court the wise men of the empire; Meng-Tseu was the most remarkable of those who appeared there. 'Venerable ancient,' said the king, 'thou who contemnest the inconveniences of a journey of a hundred leagues, comest without doubt, to point out to me the means of becoming rich!'

"'To what purpose, Prince,' replied the philosopher, 'talk of riches. I treat of justice and piety—they are enough to render any state happy. The king is the model of the people; if he inquire in what does it benefit me to command? the people, following his example, will say, of what advantage is it to us to obey? When the superiors on one hand, and the inferiors on the other, devote themselves exclusively to their private interests, public interest suffers.

"'Thus, some kings have usurped the imperial throne; and some ministers, abandoned to the passion of avarice, will scarcely pause after having despoiled their master of crown and life. When the prince is just and pious, wealth flows to the state without seeking it in any other way. When justice and piety reign, children manifest love for their parents and respect for their king. Behold the means of enriching any state!'

"The next day Meng-Tseu met Lean-

Hoei-Han in a park, near a spacious lake, observing the fishes and swans as they swam. Lean, to avoid reproof from the philosopher, broke forth: 'They say that a wise prince should dedicate himself solely to the regulation of his habits in order to govern well; what say you of those who employ themselves in this diversion?'

"'Ven-Van, a wise and just prince,' replied the philosopher, 'desired a park wherein he might have a forest for deer, a lake for swans and fishes, and a tower from which to observe the stars. Scarcely was the plan exhibited, when the people flocked to the work and toiled as if it had been for a kind father. There he rested from his labors, looking at the swans, or watching the stars.

"'The king may, like other men, repose from the fatigues of government and amuse himself; but when wise, he diverts himself with prudence and security. He who acts in another manner, becomes an object of dislike and fears revolutions; consequently he does not rest, nor can he enjoy even his own house.

"'Thus it happened to Kia, a foolish and haughty prince. Can a king, be his parks ever so fine, enjoy their beauties, taste their delights or relish any pleasure whatever, when the people detest him? It seems impossible there should be a king so abandoned.'

"Lean replied: 'I am little virtuous, but I do what I can for the benefit of the people; the princes who are my neighbors do not do as much: therefore, it would not be surprising if their subjects sought to establish themselves in my kingdom; but their population is not less numerous.'

"'Prince, thou art a warrior; I will reply as to a soldier. Let us suppose two hostile armies engaged in conflict: the most numerous betakes itself to flight; a part of it halts at a thousand paces from the point of attack, and the other part at five hundred; the latter boasts of its bravery: what is your judgment in the case?'

"'To halt at a thousand or at five hundred paces,' replied Lean, 'is the same thing, because the flight was begun by all. As both parts shared in the loss of the battle, the shame is equal for all?'

"'Then, Prince, of what use are numerous subjects when they are conquered by fewer adversaries? What you should acquire are the principles of good government and establish it: in this manner the best general takes care to conquer. Of what benefit are your best sentiments if neither you nor other princes observe the rules of good government? As it is, one cannot scoff at the other.

"'Population and wealth proceed from the government; behold its principal elements; promote agriculture, that there may be an abundance of grain. Prohibit the use of nets with small meshes, to preserve the necessary abundance of fishes. Do not permit wood to be cut beyond what is required, that it may not subsequently fall short of the public consumption.

"'Having grain, fish and wood in abundance, the people can, without great inconvenience, maintain their parents while living, and pay them due honors after death. In this way the king will be esteemed by his subjects, and philosophers may profitably teach him the rules of good usages.

"'The labourer should not be required to work for the public, neither in seed-time nor harvest; then no family could fail to possess what is essential to its support. It is only when the people are above the pressure of necessity that they contentedly listen to the principles of morality.

"'Allow me to say, you are very far from these principles; you do not give due importance to the precepts of government; you neglect the rules of good economy; you keep a great many dogs and wild boars, and in this way you deprive the people of food required to feed them.

"'When told of the death of any of your subjects by famine, you say, 'I am not culpable, but the sterility of the year,' as if the assassin were to justify murder by saying, it was not I who killed this man, but the poignard.

"'Do not attribute death by famine to sterility; establish principles of good government in your kingdom, and you will see in it abundance, and industrious men from other countries; then you will not have to complain of sterility nor of the small number of your subjects.'

" Lean-Hoei-Han, struck by the reasoning of Meng-Tseu, said, 'I wish to be enlightened.'

" 'But tell me,' said the philosopher, 'what difference there is between assassins who kill by the sword and those who slay by instruments of government?'

" 'None,' replied Lean.

" 'Very well; your kitchens abound in excellent viands, and your stables are full of fat horses, while many human beings in your kingdom are oppressed by misery and others ready to expire for want of food.

" 'How much greater would be the crime of him who should bring lions and tigers from their wild haunts to glut them on human blood? Of what consequence to the people is the mode of death; whether by suffocation or strangulation, by the sword or the hardness of heart of him who causes them to die?

" 'If men abhor wild beasts that devour them, still more do they hate the king, who while in duty bound to treat them as a father, pursues them in a government as mortiferous, as if he were to let loose amongst them lions and tigers. Who will respect a king who permits his children to die while he watches over the safety of beasts?'

" Lean being oppressed by the reasons of the philosopher, and desirous to change the subject of conversation, said, 'You know this kingdom was respectable for its military power; scarcely had I ascended the throne when it was attacked by the king Ci; I lost a battle and in it my first-born son. Afterwards I encountered disasters which clouded the glory of the ancient kings of China. I desire to remove so great a stain, put upon their memory at my hands; I request you to point out the means of achieving it.'

" 'Thou can'st do still more to govern the empire; but it depends on the elevation of thy soul and the rectitude of thy mind. The sovereign of any small kingdom may attain this preëminence by governing justly and piously; by being moderate in the imposition of taxes, and still more so in their collection.

" 'Thus, all will love you; no one will fear to risk life for you in behalf of the country: wood and stones would put an end to your enemies, for it being seen that their chiefs are inexorable in the execution of their will, and they punish with rigor, besides vexing the people with heavy tributes.

" 'The husbandmen, not having the means to sow or reap, nor resource against hunger, and the husband obliged to separate from his wife, and sons from their paternal homes, seek in other localities the means of subsistence.

" 'When you think proper to march at the head of your faithful subjects against those princes, scourges of humanity, you will expiate your faults by the rectitude of your spirit, and the example of your virtues. In this way alone will you wash out the blot put upon the glory of your ancestors.

" 'Scarcely will you appear before the people of neighboring kingdoms, when they will joyfully submit themselves to your dominion. None of them will risk life for a vicious king, their persecutor. All will hasten to enjoy your benevolence. A clement man has no enemies.'

" One day Meng-Tseu entered the house of Leam-Jam-Vam, the successor of Lean-Hoei-Han, and that prince began as follows: 'All the kingdoms into which the empire is divided are at war; when shall we have peace and tranquility?'

" 'When the imperial authority becomes complete, centred in a single chief,' replied Meng-Tseu.

" 'When,' rejoined the prince, 'will that be effected?'

" 'When there is a prince who abhors the effusion of human blood, and who loves piety and practises it.

" 'The empire is divided into kingdoms, because the chiefs slay without caring for any other right or form than mercenary force.'

" 'But each kingdom has a chief,' replied the prince, 'how shall I deprive any one of these of the crown to give it to another?'

" 'Prince, you understand the art of agriculture; observe what I say. If in May and June there is great drought when the rice is in leaf it fades, but if the weather change it becomes green again and yields fruit. Under such circumstanres what can embarrass vegetation?

" 'These chiefs you speak of, instead of ruling with equity are insatiable of human

blood; they are to their subjects what a burning dry atmosphere is to the rice. If a man should appear who detests the effusion of blood, the people would elevate their heads to look upon him and obey him in the hope of deriving from him the benefit which the rice receives from the rain.

" 'What do I say! They would not wait for this virtuous man to appear to them; they would run to meet him and join themselves with the neighboring people; and as copious rains unite to fall on the least elevated places they would unite, and who then could resist their impetuosity?'

" The philosopher left the kingdom of Cin to visit Ven-Van, the king of Ci, a virtuous man and Siouan-Uang, king of Thsi, who inquired of him if it were true that Tching-Tang had deposed king Kia, and if Uou-Uang, the founder of the third dynasty, killed the last king of the second?

" 'Whoever perpetrates a theft,' said the philosopher, 'is called a robber; whoever robs justice is called a tyrant; tyrants are the worst of men, be their hierarchy what it may; therefore, do not wonder that one should be deposed and the other condemed to death in virtue of the law.' "

" *Chapter 7th.* 'Whoever can cultivate the capacity of his mind,' says Meng-Tseu, 'knows his own nature and the nature of things; but he should not employ his understanding on useless objects. It is requisite to follow the inspirations of nature and reason; whoever follows these two guides fulfils the designs of heaven.

" 'Short life or long life does not trouble him who knows the nature of things; for he knows that dispositions determine the duration of human life; nor does he trouble himself in expecting eternal felicity; his care is to spend an irreproachable life, so that he may conform to the will of the supreme understanding.

" 'The views of every wise man proceed from heaven; therefore he is ever ready to be thankful or resigned. Whoever reads the decrees of heaven, does not undertake imprudent things; he will not stand near a wall that leans from the perpendicular. Living according to the rules of justice and piety he dies tranquilly.

" 'Modesty is the most valuable quality in the world; still those who have no shame boast of their impositions. They regard as prodigies those who are encumbered with honest sentiments. What being possessing any thing of humanity is without modesty? Who can respect it?

" The wise man, although poor, follows the rules of justice; if placed in authority he never transcends the law. Under such men the people thrive. The wise men of antiquity labored for the happiness of the people, and when they retired to private life they left their fame to the whole empire.

" 'Though the precepts of morality teach the road to virtue, man can be virtuous without studying them. There are creatures endowed with minds so superior that they form themselves without the aid of precepts or of masters.

" 'Imagine one who, from an inferior class, raises himself to a well-merited reputation, and who, in the midst of prosperity and honor, considers himself as if he had acquired neither wealth nor credit. The excellence of such a man is very superior to that which boasters arrogate to themselves.

" 'Virtuous example penetrates to the heart, but words, rarely. People submit to the precepts of virtue more easily than to those of law. They have reason to esteem the first and to abhor the last. Virtue attracts their hearts; the laws take from them the fruits of their labor.

" 'The prince Chum, while yet young, being banished to the valley of the mountain of Lie, was employed in gathering wood; his companions were wild-boars; nevertheless, as soon as he heard virtue mentioned and explained, he required neither precepts nor masters, but he entered upon the road to perfection with so much zeal that he never left it.

" 'The mind is develeped best in misfortune. None anticipate evil more, or watch more assiduously over the heart, than the great when banished far away from Court, and bastards separated from their parents. Therefore when they are in public office they are sagacious in deliberation and provident in execution.

" 'Three things afford joy to the wise man.

* There has not been any very great change of opinion on this point any where, since the days of Meng-Tseu.

1. The health of his parents and union of the family. 2. To raise his eyes to heaven, and having nothing found in his heart offensive to it, nor any thing in respect to man that should make him ashamed. 3. To be able to inspire the people with the desire to enter the career of virtue.

" ' In our time there is no virtue : the abhorrence of poverty and the love of riches and honors are the cause of this great evil. Hunger and thirst do no distinguish flavors. Poverty and insignificance have the same effect in regard to riches and honors ; they are all considered excellent, no matter how obtained.*

" ' Do not hesitate a moment to raise above other men him, who in poverty and obscurity, preserved his heart free from the thirst for wealth and honors. When virtue and discipline are in force, a wise man may accept employment of state (office) and adapt the customs to the doctrine ; but if virtue is banished from the land, he should not accept employment, as then also he adapts the practice to the doctrine.

" ' Men who give great attention to small matters and neglect the great, are ignorant of what should occupy them. For example, there are persons who give their whole attention to the rules of politeness at table, and yield to the excesses of gluttony. There are ministers skilled in all the rules and etiquette of the palace, who nevertheless overload the people with vexations. Frivolous occupations destroy the energies of the soul?

" ' Kao-Tseu, founder of the dynasty of Siang, reading the works of Meng-Tseu and coming to where the philosopher says : ' The prince who looks on his subjects as the earth he treads upon, is regarded by them as the worst of assassins.' ' Sovereigns must not be spoken of in this manner,' exclaimed Kao-Tsou ; ' whoever uses such language should not be at the side of Confucius.' He ordered the portrait of Meng-Tseu to be removed from the hall where it hung beside that of his master, and decreed—' Whoever opposes this order shall suffer death.'

" Tieng-Tang, president of the tribunal of justice, desired to be the first sacrificed in honor of Meng-Tseu. He prepared a memorial in which he explained the meaning of the philosopher when he drew the picture of bad princes, and concluded thus : ' It was of these that Meng-Tseu spoke and not of the good. It is painful that after so many centuries, a crime should be made of that which has always been esteemed a virtue. Execute your order ; I will die content in honor of Meng-Tseu : posterity will avenge us.'

" Coming to the gate of the palace, he said to the sentinel, ' Carry this memorial to Kao-Tsou, that he may restore Meng-Tseu to his honors : I know your orders ; discharge your duty.' The soldier fired at Tieng-Tang, and carried the memorial to the emperor. Kao-Tsou read and approved the reasons of the chancellor; he directed that his wound should be treated with the greatest care, and restored the philosopher to his honors."*

Speaking in another place of hereditary nobility amongst the Chinese, Andrade says: " Among other things to-day I asked an aged and learned Chinese what reason exists why there should be no hereditary nobility in the empire, except in the family of Confucius. He replied after the following manner.

" ' Whatever separates men in society is injurious ; on one hand pride, and on the other envy, give rise to oppression and revolution ; hereditary distinctions are immoral. God did not divide the species into plebeians and nobles ; he endowed it with more or less valour, strength or weakness, reason or folly, and seems to give worse children to the arrogantly proud than to common families.

" ' Our progenitors were equal in rights ; nevertheless, some obtained preëminence through their wisdom and virtues. Then each head of a family was its natural judge ; there was neither perjury nor war; afterwards an increased population brought crimes ; it became necessary to make laws and elect a king to watch over their execution. Upon the whole we are happy ; either by the connexion of morality with the laws and government, or by not having among us hereditary distinctions, or through our kindly disposition for the human race.

" ' Still in the natural state men are all equal in rights; if the people then do not discover this important secret, and it is fitting that the king or his ministers conceal it, they do not abuse ignorance ; they respect the

* Carta, L—ut supra.

people as if they were informed; in this way they avoid great evils. *The tyranny of the great arises from the ignorance of the little:* respect and ceremonials have limits; it is necessary to obtain these by merit and never through violence; force cannot fetter thought, and in it alone consists the dignity of man.

"'Our fundamental law does not tolerate hereditary nobility. What! should our legislators constitute that an inheritance which God has denied to man? If public usefulness is the only title in the eyes of reason which distinguishes citizens; if true honor consists in the estimation of other men, merited by toil and virtue; if an enlightened government rewards him only who distinguishes himself in the service of his country; if consideration and respect are due to the most excellent in virtue and talents, what are the men who ought to be preferred in society to the rest of its members? The citizen is great only when he labors most usefully for the benefit of the public.

"'It is education and not blood that makes citizens and renders them worthy to be employed by the government: few would labor to acquire merit and practice virtue, knowing that their ancestral names were sufficient to bring them honors and estate. Such are the reasons for not having a hereditary nobility in our empire. Besides the imperial family, that of Confucius alone enjoys this preëminence, sustained with dignity through a long period of twenty-three centuries.'

* * * * *

"There is no better criterion for appreciating the honors and titles conferred by monarchs, than the nobility of Siam. The king bestows on his favorite elephants, titles equal to those which distinguish the grandees of his realm!"*

Andrade quotes from one of the sacred books, Tao-Te-King, the doctrine followed by the Chinese in relation to war:—"The most inglorious peace is preferable to the most brilliant success in war. Military victories are as the flames of a devouring fire; those who shine in their glare, have a thirst for human blood; they should be banished from society. To conquering warriors are scarcely due funeral honors, in memory of the homicides committed. The monument of their victories should be surrounded by mounds and cypress."

* Andrade. Carta, lxxi.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Education in China; Female Education; Treatise of Pan-Hoti-Pan; Religion of the Chinese; Roman Catholic Missionaries; Modification of Church Rites; Protestant Missionaries; Toleration; Emperor's Address on expelling the Roman Catholic Missionaries; Chinese objections to Christianity; Arguments of a Parsee against Christianity; Revolution in China as a means of Evangelization.

The religious and moral opinions of a people may be gathered from the theory and system of education which prevail amongst them. The intelligence of Andrade, his knowledge of the Chinese language, and his association with Chinamen for twenty years entitles his statements to respect; for this reason I translate the following paragraphs from his well written volumes:

"The treatise on Chinese education was composed more than three thousand five hundred years ago; its foundation exists in the sacred books. Even in that epoch the Chinese were persuaded that the attentions given to the social condition, contributed very much to withdraw the human species from its natural rudeness and render it a friend to order. Thus, visits, salutations, presents, public and private decency, are not formalities resulting from custom; they are established by laws, respected and observed by all, from the Emperor to the meanest of his subjects.

"Chinese legislators desired—1. To regulate the customs relative to the civilization of the people. 2. To promote the study of the language, history and philosophy. 3. To prohibit offices or public employments from being conferred on men who were not distinguished by merit and virtue. The sons of illustrious parents, that is, those who were devoted to the service of the country, were obliged to make their fortune the same as if they had descended from obscure citizens; being deficient in talents or lazy, they fall into the order of plebeians. The son inherits the property of his father; but to

obtain honors, he must climb up by the same gradations through which the distinguished man who gave him life elevated himself.

"The Chinese, in spite of their endeavors, do not perceive in other nations any point of comparison with their own; and they find in this an additional reason for persuading themselves that the sciences and philosophy originated in their country where they have been cultivated in all ages by very many learned and great men. Filial piety prescribed in the L-Y-King, the work of Fouhi and in the Chou-King, a work extracted from the annals by the wise Confucius, the former the first, and the latter the second of the sacred books, was always respected, studied and followed, in the assurance that it was the virtue of all others most capable of rendering the nation happy.

"The common people of China, as I have already told you, are ignorant; the agricultural and commercial classes in general, imperfectly understand the classical books: to attain honor and virtue, it is sufficient to follow the doctrines drawn from them, which are based on filial piety, considered, by excellence, the virtue of man. The elucidation of this virtue fills many volumes; the limits of a letter will not embrace a clear notion of it.

"Observing in practice the good resulting from their education, I asked another literary man, who was the founder of so sublime a doctrine? He replied: 'The first work of the creator was to separate light from darkness; obscurity is neither good nor useful; the genius of evil is a dark principle. *Tien* (Heaven or God) is the fountain of light superior to the sun: therefore, to deny light to the people is to be the enemy of God and man.

'Our legislators, setting out upon these principles, succeeded in establishing the best laws: the most commendable rule in the school of Confucius, for the direction of public education, requires every one to be prompt to do what he says, and to say what he does. The laws and custom forbid that our education should be contradictory. The lessons of parents, of masters and of society are always in harmony. We tell our children that they ought to adore God and be just: in the schools they learn the same and they observe the same in the father, the master, and in the emperor. Citizens distinguished by merit and virtue enjoy public esteem; this reward is enough to extol education in our land.

'The principles of our education are found in the Chou-King, in the place where it treats of morality, of philosophy and of government: the simplicity of its style and the clearness of its proofs, constitute its merit. Its language is full of energy and of evidence; it carries conviction to the very soul. It does not regard the passions nor the prejudices: in men it beholds only man. It considers war and despotism as devouring fires; when the light of the consuming flames has passed away, they leave ashes and tears. Men have many wants and little strength, so that the superfluity of some may not be the necessity of others: therefore, ambition and luxury are reputed to be rocks to public happiness; and the sword, which the king grasps, an instrument to take his life, should he use it unjustly. The learned call it (the Chou-King) the school of virtue; the father of justice and of truth; the law derived from heaven; the art of reigning; the rule of all ages, &c.: behold the institutor of the divine doctrine which we follow.' If I was struck by the good result of Chinese education, I did not wonder less at the eloquence of the scholar.

"In truth, if the power of the state depend on the spirit of the people, if strength proceeds from union of will, they should be inspired with the sentiments which their interests require. In their infancy is the period to perfect their hearts and fill them with love for the public good. Then only can they be habituated to recoil more from shame than from death; from this mode only, will they prefer merit to opulence, talent to birth, and virtue to distinction. Virtues extol man: thus he is sober, liberal, sincere and compassionate.

"For more than four thousand years the Chinese have respected and venerated men eminent for virtues and letters: in Europe, to our shame be it spoken, the most plausible and honorable discoveries for the human race were condemned. They condemned as absurdities the sphericity of the terrestrial globe, the existence of the antipodes, the

system of Copernius and of Galileo, the project of opening navigation by the east and then encompassing the earth by the west; and they persecuted the discoverers of important truths in proportion as they were virtuous!

"The fact is that in Europe there existed, there exists and perhaps ever will exist men so attached to darkness that the weakest light is to them a ray precursive of horrible torment. The Chinese government and the men who direct public education in this empire exemplify the saying of Solomon—'It is easier to govern an enlightened people than the rude and ignorant.'

"What shall I say of the education of women? Even in Greece, the land of light, their education was slighted! In India as soon as they enter upon adolescence, they are placed in harems and ruled by tyrants of a new species, that is by monsters who belong to no sex. In China, for fashion's sake, women are lamed when born. Nevertheless they cultivate the mind: observe the flight which the genius of the celebrated Pan-Hoei-Pan took and you will see that the sex shines wherever the education of women is attended to.

"'At fourteen years old,' says Pan-Hoei-Pan, I came from my paternal home to the house of Tsao-che-chou, who was selected by my parents to be my husband. I did not reach thirty years of age without acquiring experience in many things, and I learned the obligations of one-half of the human race which by nature has been subjected to the other. While in my father's house I was docile to the instruction I received; I was careful to profit by the lessons of those who gave me life, in the assurance that they were all designed for my future benefit. As soon as I was a woman I took care to fulfil my duties, persuaded that the way to be happy myself consisted in rendering contented the man who had chosen me in the bonds of matrimony. [In China children are affianced in infancy, and married when they attain a suitable age.] To obtain this good result it is necessary to practice while single the lofty virtues which men exact in the persons of those destined to bring them offspring and to participate in their domestic troubles. Maidens deceive not yourselves: if in your paternal home you fail to discharge your duties, you will never be good mothers, nor very long succeed in pleasing your husbands. To attach you to them I have written this work, which I offer you in the hope that it may be profitable.'

"Pan-Hoei-Pan divides her treatise on the education of females into seven chapters: I give the substance of the fourth which is sufficient to impart a correct notion of the education given to Chinese women.

"'The qualities which make a woman lovely,' says Pan-Hoei-Pan, 'may be reduced to four: virtue, words, figure, actions. Her virtue should be perfect and constant; a woman must be docile and always honest; she should weigh her words and use them to the purpose. If she is instructed she should make no display of erudition; a woman who frequently cites the poets and philosophers, never pleases; but she secures esteem when she knows how to conceal her knowledge to be used on proper occasions. When speaking of the sciences and literature, she should be concise, even to those who desire to hear her.

"'Vanity, the common passion of both sexes, holds great sway over ours: as it is displeasing to see exhibitions of vanity in others, we should control it in ourselves. A woman becomes insupportable whenever, by her expressions and manners, she exacts the attention and esteem of persons around her. This defect and others that spring from it should be avoided, as we should be convinced we ought never to open our mouths to offend.

"'Regularity of features, delicacy of complexion, elegance of form, and every thing which in common opinion completes a beauty, doubtlessly contribute to render a woman lovely; but it is not in the charms of her person, in my opinion, that a woman should seek to make herself loved. Beauty does not depend upon ourselves, and I claim those qualities which may be acquired; they far exceed those of nature.

"'A woman is handsome in the eyes of her husband when she uniformly manifests softness in her voice, mildness in eyes, cleanliness in her dress and person, modesty in her discourse, and above all, when she accords to him respect. She ought not, in ac-

tion, yield to any habit which displeases he husband, or may not be an example to h children and servants. She ought to mai the care of the house her principal emplo ment, but so regulated as not to be a slave any moment. She should be industrious i every thing, but without inconvenience amiably agreeable, but without affectation &c.' "

The stability of government, the safety and happiness of society depend upon the morality, the education and on the religion of the people. If they are generally well instructed and are controlled by sound morals, it is of little or no consequence to the well being of society what forms of worship or what theories of religion they observe. Under this restriction, errors in religious belief do not affect the community; the influence, the terrible consequences of misbelief and disbelief will be known and felt hereafter, when too late for correction.

If we consider carefully and without bias, the immense population, the degree of information or education; the state of manufactures, agriculture, commerce and literature; the safety and security afforded by the government to the lives and property of the citizens generally; their social happiness and contentment as a people; the paucity of crime compared in this respect with the Christian nations of the West;* if we observe, too, the suavity of manners, politeness; the advanced state of moral or psychological science, and lastly, that the Supreme God of the Universe is recognized amongst them; I say if we keep all these things in view, the philosopher and statesman may well question whether change of religion among the Chinese, their conversion to Christianity might not be fatal to the existence of the government and the present happy condition of Chinese society. It is probable that the people of no nation or government are superior to the Chinese in this respect; therefore, it is to be feared, their political and worldly condition cannot be improved by evangelization. Indeed, it may be anticipated that the words of our Saviour instructing his disciples, will be sorrowfully prove to the Chinese—"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father. and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household."* Evangelization will bring to the Chinese, as it has to all other people, disputes, dissentions, hatred, malice and bloodshed; not because there is want of purity, or there is any defect in Christianity itself, but because the followers of our Saviour do not universally imitate him in charity and meekness of spirit.

Be this as it may, we may look at the nature of the labors and difficulties which Christian Missionaries in China must encounter, and entertain ourselves with conjectures on the degree of success that await them.

The Chinese are not Atheists: generally speaking, they are rational Deists; and their worship is ceremonial. The images and shrines of Budhist temples, being tangible representations of the supposed attribute of God, like the pictures, crucifixes and hol statuary of Roman Catholic churches, firs arrest and then enchain the attention of the people, especially of those whose minds have not reached independent operation through knowledge and discipline. The religion of Budha is tangible, palpable to the senses; and in this respect, does not differ more widely from the Roman Catholic religion, as I have seen it exhibited in different parts of South America, than Romanism does from the ceremonial worship of high church Episcopalians, or from what certain protestants denominate Puseyism.

It might be anticipated from this fact that the Roman Catholic missionaries encounter no very great difficulty in gaining the consent of the Chinese to enrol them as members of the church; the transition from the formalities of the Budhist temple to those of the Roman church is seemingly so simple

* It is certain that the Chinese place more value on human life than we do in the West and always exact life for life, and however corruptible the judges may be in other points, in cases of homicide and murder they have proved themselves to be inexorable. It is remarkable that the Chinese never carry arms as parts of their personal attire; neither knives, pistols nor swords are worn, as was once the universal fashion of Christian gentlemen of all nations.

* Matthew x., 34, 35, 36.

that no violence is done to that description of prejudice which is established by habit. The attention of the people having been fixed by the formalities of tangible worship, they listen to the teachings and exhortations of the priests and comprehend and believe the grand truths of Christianity.

Roman Catholic priests comprehend what politicians understand by the word expediency; they are careful not to violate prejudices, nor establish religious rules difficult or disagreeable to observe; and the church ceremonies are, if possible, moulded to suit the taste and genius of the parishioners. In Mexico and other countries of South America, the Spanish Roman Catholic priests did not hesitate to alter or to add to the church rites according to their fancy; indeed the Conte Carlo Vidua, an Italian traveller, born in the centre of Catholicism, was shocked to see in Mexico how the ceremonial of his creed had been overloaded. He says:—"*La nostra religione, voglio credere che sia stata conservata intatta dagli Spagnioli in quanto al dogma; ma in quanto al riti ed alle pratiche, l'hamro caricata di tante esteriorita, che agli orchi stessi d'um Italiano nato ne! centro del Cattolecismo ristuccano e ributtano.*"*

The precept to be all things to all men has been liberally construed; the Romish missionaries from the time almost of its discovery, did not fail in any part of South America, Spanish or Portuguese, to bend the rites or ceremonials of the church to the prejudices or rather to the mental simplicity of the Aborigines:—in their wrestling with the devil in such cases, the priests thought proper to "take a low hold." They studied to make the church ceremonies attractive to the eye and impressive to the imagination, while they carefully avoided the imposition of any rules, whose observance might be irksome to the children of the forest. Frequent repetition of forms made them customary; and some of them have descended and are observed in modern times. I have seen effigies of the birth of our Saviour, of his trial, passion and death, and resurrection, all of life size, borne through the streets in procession. An effigy of the Virgin kept in a chapel at Payta, on the coast of Peru, was wont to weep tears of blood on Good Friday; and the wounds in the effigy of the crucified Saviour were wont to bleed afresh on that day. In some of the South American cities, the events of Good Friday are dramatized in the church for the information of the people.

Within twenty years the drama was effectively enacted in Brazil. A French writer speaking of the ceremonies of Good Friday in Rio de Janeiro describes the scene in a church. "It is seven o'clock: enter the church of Terceiros near the palace; the people crowd in masses, the darkness is almost complete, and dark drapery conceals the choir. Suddenly the priest mounts the pulpit, and, after a few moments of self-communion, he begins his sermon on the passion. The Brazilians are a nation of orators, and it may be said of them that eloquence does not depend on him alone who speaks, but also on the listener. No matter what may be the state of mind on entering the temple, it is impossible not to be moved by every word recalling the sacrifice, and inviting us to repent; but when, after enumerating the pangs of Christ and the ignominies heaped upon him, the Priest suddenly cries, *Behold the Saviour you have murdered*, the great drapery falls and Jesus (in effigy) appears reposing in the tomb, surrounded by his disciples and guarded by the Roman soldier, it is impossible not to perceive the religious terror which rushes through the assembly, and we may imagine what was the influence of those great religious dramas of the middle ages, exhibited to a credulously wondering congregation."*

These statements go far to explain the fact that Roman Catholic missionaries, wherever they go in heathen lands make more proselytes, ten to one, than protestant missionaries of all denominations. As an illustration of the success and beneficial results of the social and political condition of a people, springing from the labors of Roman Catholic missionaries, we may look at the Spanish possessions in the Philippine islands. There, the missionaries have brought the aborigines to a tolerable state of civilization, so that three millions of Indians are held subordi-

* Lettere del Conte Carlo Vidua publicate da Cesare Balbo.—Lib. iv. Tomo iii. Torino 1834.

* Denis. Histoire de Bresil.

nate to the provincial authorities of Spain without the aid of a single company of European soldiers. Throughout India the European is feared, but hated; while in the Philippines he is *almost loved.** Let us not forget that all Spanish America owes its condition of Christianity and civilization to the labors of Roman Catholic missionaries, chiefly of the order of Jesuits; and the work has been accomplished in three centuries.

The self-sacrifice and devotion of the Roman Catholic missionaries in China, were frequently mentioned to me, while at Canton, in terms of approbation and admiration, by protestants of all sects. On their arrival these fathers in the church assume the Chinese costume, queue or tail and all, and at once plunge into the interior. Instances are cited of some of them not being heard of for twenty years: and then they were discovered to be the centre of some little Christian community of Chinese "created by their exertions through the blessings of the Redeemer." By at once assuming the garb and mode of living of the Chinese, they acquire the language much in the same way as children do.

Protestant missionaries have nothing in their forms of worship which is tangible, palpable, to invite the attention of the people. Their teachings are, as it were, confined to abstract principles, doctrines not likely to be attractive or interesting to uneducated, ignorant people. To remedy this difficulty several plans have been adopted. Under the pretext of gratuitously healing the sick and wounded, hospitals have been established and schools instituted, in order to exhibit to the Chinese the practical workings of Christian benevolence, and to secure attention to the oral instructions of the missionaries and to induce the Chinese who receive corporeal benefit from the hospitals to accept and read translations of the Scriptures. Thus far the success of these efforts has been very small.

Between the years 1807 and 1847, both inclusive, the Protestants of England and United States have sent to the Chinese 110 missionaries, Episcopalians, Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists. Of this number 14 have died, and 30 have retired, leaving 66 still in the field at the close of 1847.

The labors of Christian missionaries began in China with the Nestorians as early as the year A. D. 505,* more than thirteen centuries since and have been continued to the present time. Nevertheless, it is generally conceded, at least by protestant writers, that an exceedingly small number of Chinese have become *bona fide* Christians—possibly, not equal to the number of missionaries labourers sent amongst them, unless we include all who have assisted at worship and submitted to the ceremony of baptism. Many Roman missionaries considered all to be converts who attended to the rites of the church, taking little notice of the dogmas: "*Molte ceremonie e poche prediche, rari catechismi.*" "It is hardly possible to doubt when reading the letters of these two men, (Dufresne and Gagelin,) [Roman Catholic missionaries,] both of whom were martyred for the faith thus preached, that they sincerely loved and trusted in the Saviour they proclaimed. Many of their converts also exhibit the greatest constancy in their profession, suffering persecution, torture, imprisonment, banishment and death, rather than deny their faith, though every inducement for prevarication and mental reservation was held out to them by the magistrates, in order to avoid the necessity of proceeding to extreme measures. If suffering the loss of all things, is an evidence of piety, many of them have proved their title to it in many ways. But until there shall be a complete separation from idolatry and superstition; until the confessional shall be abolished and the worship of the Virgin, wearing crosses and rosaries, and reliance on ceremonies and penances, be stopped; until the entire Scriptures and the Decalogue be given to the converts; and until, in short, the great doctrine of justification by faith be substituted for the many forms of justification by works, the mass of converts to Romanism in China can hardly be considered as much better than baptized Pagans. Their works and influence on their Pagan countrymen show how little leaven of godliness there has been in the lump, and both priests and people cannot

* Lettere del Conte Carlo Vidua.—Lib. v. Torino 1834.

* The Middle Kingdom.

well refuse to be judged by evidence furnished by themselves."*

Toleration may be reckoned among what may be termed unpracticed abstractions:† even the fundamental law of our country is not sufficient to enforce it in all cases in the United States. In this respect the history of the Mormons may be referred to.

The spirit of proselytism and toleration are incompatible; toleration requires forbearance, while the proselyting spirit, which is the missionary animus, stimulates interference with religious notions, opinions or practices not in conformity to the views of the missionary or religionist. In Europe the Roman Catholics and Protestants are intolerant of each other mutually, and equally violent, and are restrained in a great degree, from perpetrating acts of hostility on each other, by the advanced condition of political science. The same is true of the United States, where Mormonism and Millerism are not tolerated: the burning of the convent in Boston (the Athens, &c.) and of the churches of Catholics, in Philadelphia, may be submitted in proof. The various sects of protestants are not tolerant, even of each other. The laws protect the Jews; but the public opinion of Papists and Protestants who constitute the majority of religionists, is against them. The Jews do not tolerate Christians; they cannot mingle with them connubially without infringing the rules of the Synagogue. Nor have the Romanists more spirit of toleration in their views of matrimony, nor do they harmonize entirely amongst themselves; the priests of different orders quarrel; Dominican, Franciscan, Benedictine, Carmelite, &c.

The doctrine or notion of the St. Sebastianists, a Romish sect numerous in Brazil and Portugal, is not more absurd than that of the Mormons, Millerites, New Harmonyites, Shakers, Budhists or Brahmins. But from being accustomed to moderate differences, their absurdities escape notice of the proselyting spirit; it seeks broad and glaring opposition of views. A handful of self-confident priests place themselves on the shores of China, and without knowing the language, absolutely entertain the fond hope of persuading 360,000,000 of people, that they must adopt the religious views they came to teach, or be utterly lost. Were they to add a thousand missionaries a year, they would exert more influence than at present and accelerate the completion of the work; but if at the same time one were to add a gallon of Cologne water every day to the Atlantic ocean, in expectation of perfuming the China sea, the two enterprises would be achieved about the same time: the Christianity of the Chinese and fragrance of their sea would be acknowledged universally on the same day. The efforts are hopless of success and absurd; until Papist and Protestant propagandists learn to tolerate each other, that is forbear mutual reproaches, and confine their labors to convincing others by persuasion of their own absolute correctness of doctrine.

Certain tracts, under the name of Small Books on Great Subjects, contain useful hints for those who cannot abide the existence of any views, opinions or practices not in conformity to their own. These honest fellows, "feel that they are right;" and so do those honest fellows who oppose them, but *these* cannot perceive that *those* have the privilege to feel.

About the beginning of the last century various disputes and discussions took place among the different orders of Roman Catholic missionaries in China. Some of their converts resisted the Emperor's commands touching ancestral rites; and the statesmen of the empire represented that the tendency of the new religion was to undermine and destroy the authority of the government. The facts stated and opinions expressed, provoked from the Emperors, edicts against the propagation of Christianity, and in 1724, Yungching ordered the missionaries to leave the empire.

On a certain day he caused the missionaries of the different orders to assemble at Court, and addressed them a farewell speech, in substance as follows: "Toleration always appeared to me to be a bond of union amongst men and nations, and the first duty of sovereigns. If any religion can claim to

* The Middle Kingdom, vol. 2, p. 324.

† In reply to an application of certain midshipmen to visit in ladies' society in a foreign port, the Captain of the frigate said: "The abstract principle of midshipmen going on shore to visit ladies I admit and admire, but I don't admit the practice of the abstraction; therefore, gentlemen, I'll be ——— if you shall go out of the ship."

be true, it would be that of China ... yourselves admit that we worship the Supreme Being in a decorous and worthy manner; and we worshipped him long before the use of writing was known among western nations. Before your petty nations came into existence we constituted a regular and powerful empire. But, as its duration afforded occasion to corrupt the religion of the people, we tolerated the bonzies of Fo, the Talapöins of Siam, the followers of Mahommed, the Jews, the fanatics of San-Kium and yourselves: and viewing all men as brothers we never punished them because they erred, for error is not a crime. The tribunals of the empire do not condemn your absurdities, but pity them; still, they cannot forgive you for coming from the end of the world to rob us of peace, and to sow amongst a happy people the errors and animosities that consume you. We have detailed information of the evils you caused in Japan. There, twelve religions flourished under the auspices of a moderate and prudent government; you scarcely appeared when discord disturbed those islands and human blood was shed in them all. The same happened in Siam and in the Mollucas, and would succeed among us; I am bound to preserve the empire from so fearful a scourge. I am tolerant; but I expel you, because you are not: on the contrary, hating each other, you seek to instil into the Chinese people the poison you carry in your own hearts. I do not condemn you to death, nor order you to be shut up in dungeons, as they do in Europe, men of better judgment. In China we do not convince by violence nor sustain religion by means of executioners. Go then, and bear with you to some other land your disagreements; and may you learn to be more wise. Vehicles and boats are ready to conduct you to Macáo, and soldiers to watch over your security. Go; and in Europe be living witnesses of my justice and clemency.''*

From that time to the present the motives of Christian missionaries have been more or less suspected; and the government has occasionally manifested its fears of their influence which it deems to be in some manner subversive.

But there are, comparatively new yet, very ... religious obstacles thrown in the way of Christian missionaries of every denomination. Both in India and China, disputants and tractarians have sprung up who labor to prove that Christianity is not true; and to disparage those who profess it.

"In the account given by Mr. Medhurst of his labors, is a notice of a tract written against him by a Chinese, in which he argues, 'that it is monstrous in barbarians to attempt to improve the inhabitants of the celestial empire when they were so miserably deficient themselves. Thus introducing among the Chinese a poisonous drug, for their own benefit to the injury of others, they were deficient in benevolence; sending their fleets and armies to rob other nations of their possessions, they could make no pretensions to rectitude; allowing men and women to mix in society and walk arm in arm through the streets, they showed that they had not the least sense of propriety; and in rejecting the doctrines of the ancient kings they were far from displaying wisdom: indeed, truth was the only good quality to which they could lay the least claim. Deficient, therefore, in four out of the five carnal virtues, how could they expect to renovate others? Then, while foreigners lavished money in circulating books for the renovation of the age, they made no scruple of trampling printed paper under foot, by which they showed their disrespect for the inventors of letters. Further, those who would be exhorters of the world were themselves deficient in filial piety, forgetting their parents as soon as dead, putting them off with deal coffins only an inch thick, and never so much as once sacrificing to their manes, or burning the smallest trifle of gilt paper for their support in the future world. Lastly, they allowed the rich and noble to enter office, without passing through any literary examinations, and did not throw open the road to advancement to the poorest and meanest in the land. From all these, it appeared that foreigners were inferior to the Chinese, and therefore most unfit to instruct them.'

"To these arguments, which commend themselves to a Chinese with a force that can hardly be understood by a foreigner, they often add the intemperate lives and reckless cupidity of professed Christians who

*The Middle Kingdom.—Andrade.

visit their shores, and ask, what good it will do them, to change their long tried precepts for the new fangled teachings of the Bible? The pride of learning is a great obstacle to the reception of the humiliating truths of the Gospel everywhere but perhaps especially in China, where letters are so highly honored and patronized."*

It is related that a certain protestant missionary solicited a lot of lumber at the first cost for the purpose of building a church, and urged it on the ground that whoso giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord. Almost immediately after obtaining the lumber he sold it at a hundred per cent. advance and thus made a good speculation. The same missionary frequently visited a distinguished Chinese portrait painter, and exhorted him to embrace Christianity. He had presented him a copy of the New Testament in the Chinese language. One day the portrait painter was exhausted of patience, and said: "Me no want-she see you—you take-y too muche-y me teem (time)—you make-y talk-ey one hour. Some piece man want-she he face-y just now—that one hour me make-y thirty dollar. Me make-y read that book; me think-ey that book no proper—me see in that book that your Joss take-y some piece loaf and piece fish and make-y feed too much-ey men, women and chilo. Me think-ey that big lie. Cheenaman no can believe that pigeon. Me see other big lie. How can make dead man walk-ey; no can do."

Flimsy as such arguments may appear to us, it is no easy matter, as Mr. Williams suggests, to combat their influence on the minds of the Chinese. He who succeeds in the effort will prove himself to be ingenious, very strong as a logician and learned as a theologian.

In the discharge of their holy office, missionaries are obliged, from its very nature, to exhibit by argument and illustrations drawn from various sources, not only the truth of Christianity, but also the untruth of every other religious doctrine they may meet in the field of their labors. In China, for example, they should be prepared to demonstrate incontrovertibly to the meanest as well as the highest capacity, the absurdities of the religion of Budha, of Fo, and of the other various religious creeds in fashion: in Arabia he must be equally prepared to grapple with the fallacies of the Koran; in India he must encounter Budha, Brahma, and Zoroaster. To accomplish these ends, a missionary should be endowed with a high order of intellect, and be highly educated; for, if he should fail, not in the estimation of the Christian world, but in the opinion of misbelievers whom it may be his lot to teach, to make good his positions against any system of misbelief he may attack, a triumph, temporary though it may be, is given to his opponents and the march of Christianity is interrupted.

These notions were suggested from looking over an octavo pamphlet of 221 pages, of which the following is a copy of the title page: "Discussion on the Christian Religion; as contained in the Bible, and propounded by Christian Clergymen and Theologians; between Pestonjee Monockjee, Editor of the Jam-I-Jumsheed, and the Rev. J. M. Mitchell, Editor of 'The Native's Friend.'

'Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord.—*Isaiah* I. 18.

'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.—1 *Thessalonians* v. 21.

'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.—*Romans* xiv. 5.

'Let Truth and Falsehood grapple. Whoever knew Truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter?—*Milton.*

'The course of argument and fair reason cannot be impeded.—*Bombay Government.*

'Bombay. Printed at the Dufter Ashkara Press. 1845.'"

It seems to me almost certain that all the Parsees and natives of India who read this production will be satisfied, not only that the Rev. J. M. Mitchell has been routed in argument, but that the doctrines of Christianity are absurd and fabulous. Consequently, a blow has been struck which must retard the progress of Christianity in Hindoostan.

To show the ability of this Parsee writer, and the scope of his researches in connection with the subject, I quote some passages from the "introduction" which explain the origin of the controversy. "It may not be amiss to remark that the Rev. Dr. John Wilson, missionary of the church of Scotland at

* The Middle Kingdom.—Vol. p. 378, '9.

Bombay, arrived in this Presidency in 1829, and soon after commenced religious discussions on the Hindoo, Mahommedan and Parsee religions. He is admitted to be one of the most able, intelligent and zealous missionaries ever sent to this part of the world. The remarks he has published against the different systems of religion professed in this country have lately been answered and refuted by the respective members of the native community. But owing to the conversion of two ignorant boys of their tribe in 1839, through the instrumentality of Dr. J. Wilson, the Parsees showed more than ordinary zeal and earnestness in their religious discussions with this distinguished missionary, who published an elaborate work against the Parsee religion in the beginning of 1843, containing more than 600 pages. In July 1842, the Parsees published a bi-monthly magazine, (afterwards monthly) of 64 pages, 8vo., entitled the 'Kahnooma-i-Zurtoshtee' or 'Guide to Zoroastrians,' with the two-fold object of defending their own religion from the attacks of Dr. Wilson and other Christian missionaries and refuting the Christian religion.

* * * * * *

"Christian missionaries themselves have from time to time challenged an unrestricted examination of the religion they offer to the Natives. Their challenge has been duly accepted by the Parsees, as will be evident from the discussion herein offered to the public. But the matter shall not rest here. The Editor of the Jam-i-Jumsheed avails himself of this opportunity to declare his readiness to discuss, on a more extended plan, with any Christian missionary, two important and extensive subjects, viz: the internal and external evidences of Christianity, and the authenticity of the Bible—subjects which he has carefully studied and minutely investigated for several years, and on which he is prepared to conduct a calm and courteous discussion with any Christian layman, divine or clergyman who may be disposed to come forward and accept his challenge. These discussions will, it is hoped, be productive of much good, and no evil."

This clever Parsee, like the Chinese adversaries of the Christian missionaries, points to the vicious, immoral condition of Christian countries with much force. He says—

"You refer me to the present and past condition of Europe, America, and the Islands of the Pacific in proof of the moral influence of Christianity. Let us see, Mr. Editor, what the Rev. S. Chandler, an orthodox Christian and a priest, says on this subject, [History of Persecution.] 'If any person,' says he, 'were to judge of the nature and spirit of the Christian religion by the spirit and conduct only of too many, who have professed to believe in it, *in all nations*, and almost through *all ages* of the Christian Church, he could scarce fail to censure it as an institution unworthy of the God of order and peace, subversive of the welfare and happiness of societies, and designed to enrich and aggrandize a few only, at the expense of the liberty, reason, consciences, substance and lives of others. What is the best part of Ecclesiastical History, better than a history of the pride and ambition, the avarice and tyranny, the treachery and cruelty of some, and the persecutions and dreadful miseries of others?' Bishop Kidder, [Demonstrations of the Messiah,] another Christian Ecclesiastic of high rank and learning, is of opinion that—'Were a wise man to choose his religion by the lives of those who profess it, perhaps *Christianity* would be *the last* religion he would choose.' Peruse, sir, with serious attention, these admissions, which orthodox Christians themselves have been obliged to make; and ponder on the confessions truth has elicited from them.

"Without going so far as America or the Islands of the Pacific, let us see the present moral condition of your own country, Great Britain and Ireland. In this most civilized country of Europe, where the 'benign influence of Christianity' universally prevails, 'the whole system of trading and shopkeeping,' says R. Griffith, 'is deeply stained with falsehoods and fraudulent practices; drunkenness and fornication are extremely prevalent; malice, envy, revenge, blood-thirstiness, uncharitableness, slander, pride, hatred, and contempt of poverty, widely pervade *all ranks and conditions, and not the least, the Christian priesthood.*' The writer of a book called 'Thoughts on Executive Justice,' says, 'There are more crimes in *England*

than in any *other* country. We are no more secure in our property of every kind, than if we were *savages*; perhaps we are upon the whole *less so.*' The Rev. T. Belham says, [*Progress of Improvement*, 1814, *p.* 9,] 'The present times in England are bad. Vice and immorality in every shape abound in *all* ranks and descriptions of the community.' 'If,' says another orthodox Christian writer of learning, [*Christian Remembrancer*, 1833,] 'if 200,000 persons, who in London alone support themselves by vagrancy, dishonesty, pro titution and theft, average 12 shillings a week, as the produce of their crimes, the country is taxed £6,000,000 a year for their support. The estimate is probably underrated. It has been calculated that the annual depredations in London exceed £2,000,000; and that it has 60,000 prostitutes, (some say 80,000;) 75,000 persons were taken into custody there in 1832.' 'In Ireland, so conspicuous for its religious fervency, morality is indeed at a low ebb. A clergyman who sometime ago visited it, left it as his opinion that it was *Gospel-hardened*, [*Presbyterian Penny Magazine, October*, 1834.] With regard to the morality of the Irish, their own countryman says: 'Nothing but the dread of the law and fear of punishment bridles their fury, prevents them from turning the whole country topsy-turvy and reducing to one frightful chaos all the elements of society,' [*O'Croly's Essay*, 1835.] Dr. Ryan in his 'Philosophy of Marriage,' page 18, thus describes the immoralities of the British metropolis: 'According to the reports of the society for the prevention of Prostitution in London, established under the patronage of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city in 1836–39, it appears, that it has been proved that upwards of 400 individuals in London procure a livelihood by trepanning females of from eleven to fifteen years of age, for the purposes of prostitution. That during the last eight years, there have been no less than 2,700 cases of disease arising from this cause, in children from eleven to sixteen years of age, admitted into three of the largest hospitals in London. Not less than 80,000 prostitutes exist in London, a great proportion of whom are of tender age. It is computed that 8,000 die every year, and yet the number is on the increase. It is lamentable to observe that scarcely a day passes without bringing to light, by means of the public papers, some new act of seduction, of desertion; and how often has the humane mind bitterly reflected on the amount of life sacrificed, either by disease or suicide!' This, sir, is a just and impartial estimate of the wretched condition of morality under the influence of Christianity,—a picture drawn on the spot by your own countrymen by orthodox Christians, whose evidence I have purposely selected and preferred quoting, in order that no one can question its accuracy. Though I have not had the good fortune to visit England, yet some of my friends who have been there, corroborate the truth of these facts and statements; from which it appears beyond doubt, that the Christian religion has proved a weak and inefficient check against vice and immorality, both private and public.

"'If a man were to select any part of the British metropolis,' says a Native who lately visited England, [*Manuscript Journal of a Residence in Great Britain, by a Parsee,*] such as St. Giles's or Shoreditch, what will he find there? Hundreds and thousands of poor, wretched, miserable beings, unable to read or write, of depraved and sinful habits; many of them the illegitimate offspring of those Christians, who, having gratified their lust by seducing the mothers of these children of wretchedness, have abandoned them to poverty, destitution and crime,—many of them the progeny of abandoned, dissolute parents, who brought their children up to habits of thieving from childhood. These call aloud for Home Missionary exertion and for the liberality of the English in their *own* country. Visit any seaport town, or any place in the neighborhood of a military station in England, and there see the streets thronged with multitudes of unfortunate women, who, blessed by their Maker with attractive features and having fallen victims to unprincipled men, who cast them off after a short season, haunt all the public thoroughfares, set public decency at defiance, use language of a most horrible and obscene nature, and continue in the path of vice, until disease puts an end to their wretched existence.'*

*"Crime has increased in a quintuple ratio as com-

"Almost every Overland Mail, that arrives from England every month, brings horrid particulars of the immoralities and shameless atrocities committed by all classes of Christians in 'the land of the blessed Gospel,' as you call it. We receive almost every month heart-rending accounts of parents murdering their own children, wives their husbands, brothers avenging on their sisters, and *vice-versa*; priests and clergymen committing violent assaults, murders and depradations; actions for bigamy, criminal conversation, perjury, assumpsit, trespasses, larceny, burglary, treason, and a host of other offences; persons of rank and intelligence fighting duels, committing suicide and other 'abominations of the Lord;' shocking instances of drunkenness, lewdness and other vices, disgusting in the extreme, and less frequent even among 'the benighted heathens.'

"Behold the moral influence of the Christian religion in your own country, Mr. Editor! and reflect on it seriously, before you again refer me to 'the present and past condition of Europe, of America, of the islands of the Pacific and of the world.' There is an English proverb which says "Charity begins at home.' I would therefore recommend that all the generous and charitable Britons, who, from a mistaken zeal in the cause of religion, send Missionaries like yourself, Mr. Editor, to this distant country, and many other remote parts of the world, to convert and civilize the natives, should begin the work of charity and civilization at home, reform their own countrymen, rescue them from ignorance, superstition, vice, irreligion, wickedness and debauchery; and then let all the different sects and denominations of Christians deliberate together, argue and determine one uniform mode of worship and belief, to which they should next attempt to convert all the divided sects of Christians. After having thus completed the work of reformation throughout Europe, (a very difficult, arduous and almost impracticable task, requiring many centuries to accomplish,) let them send missionaries to India and other countries to convert the Natives. If Europe, America, the Islands of the Pacific and other countries of the world have been civilized, it is not owing to the moral character and influence of the Christian religion, but to the march of intellect, to the progress of science and knowledge, to progressive refinement, experience, and to the improvement of ages."

It must be painful to every benevolent, Christian mind to know that the references of this Parsee, a heathen or pagan in our notions, are substantially true; and all must perceive that as long as such weapons can be brought to bear against missionaries in their labors to persuade misbelievers of the truth of Christianity, their success must be slow. It would avail little with such opponents to urge that the debased moral condition of a portion of the population in Christian communities is owing to the absence of Christianity; for investigation has shown in several instances that a very large proportion of those arrested for crimes could neither read nor write, and had no definite ideas of religion of any kind. Consequently, these facts prove nothing against the efficacy of Christianity in the production of moral conduct; but they do most emphatically prove that we should get the beams out of our own eyes, before we go to the antipodes to seek for the motes in the eyes of other nations or peoples.

A specious and sophistical argument might be made against the power of Christianity, or rather the influence of a simple knowledge of its precepts and seeming belief in them, to retain its professors in the path of honesty and truth, by bringing forward the criminal priests and bishops, and exhibiting the social, moral and criminal offences they have perpetrated, in spite of thorough knowledge.

But Pestonjee Monockjee is not content to array facts against the usefulness of Christianity; he questions its truth and divine origin, and quotes many infidel as well as Christian authors to sustain his positions, and as corroborative of his views he refers to the religious condition of Germany, and quotes from "the Rev. G. R. Gleig's Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, visited in 1837—London, 1839," the following:

pared with the population, for it appears from official reports, that during the four years ending Dec. 31st, 1842, the population had increased only four and a half per cent., whilst crime, as compared with the average of the four previous years, had increased 24.7 per cent."—'*Principles of Criminal Law*' in Small Books on Great Subjects.

"Whoever will take the trouble to investigate the history of Protestanism in Germany, throughout the last eighty or ninety years, will find that the spectacle presented by it to the eye of the Christian is exceedingly sad. Throughout that extended period a *large* proportion of the Reformed divines have not only *rejected* for themselves all belief in *the divine origin of Christianity*, but have labored with a zeal worthy of a better cause, to instil their own pernicious opinions into the minds of others. From the chairs of the theological professorships in the universities, of which at one time they had monopolized the possession, as well as the pages of all the most influential literary and religious journals, which were chiefly under their control, a body of Rationalists, as they call themselves, ceased not to contemn and hold up to ridicule all who professed their belief in particular inspirations; nay, the very pulpits became, in their hands, and in those of their disciples, fountains from which came forth continually the waters which canker where they flow. Moreover, the amount of learning which they brought to aid them in this unholy task, was undoubtedly as great as the skill which they displayed in adapting their arguments to the tastes and comprehensions of the different classes in society was remarkable. No wonder that the consequence should have been a speculative *infidelity every where.*"

"The religion of the Bible is not *now*, and for many years back has never been, the standard of faith and morals within the Prussian dominions." [*See Gleig's Germany: Hawkin's Germany, page* 171-173, *where the present state of religion in Germany is minutely described.*]

"Almost universal religious infidelity prevails in the German universities. The principles of Kant, carried to an extremity by Hegel and others, have succeeded in making *Christianity regarded as a fable.* * * * In Germany, Philosophy has *thoroughly clipped the angel wings of Christianity.* It has represented the miraculous histories of the Old and New Testaments as fables. It has described the wonders of God's providene,c as exhibited in the establishment of the Jewish people, and of Jesus Christ's miracles, for the establishment of his religion, to be *legends, sagas*, of the same character as all other ancient notions. This philosophy has seized on the *youth of Germany to a frightful extent.* The philosophical chairs are in *all* quarters infected by it. * * * Among the whole number of German students whom I have known, it would be difficult to select *a dozen*, who were not *confirmed deists.* Let those who doubt the extent to which this philosophical pestilence has spread, go and judge for themselves; but let none send out solitary youths to study in German Universities, who do not wish to see them return very clever, very learned and very *completely unchristianized.*"—[*Living in Germany; or German Experience addressed to the English; by William Howitt—London*, 1844.]

While there exists in every community or nation of the Christian world, abundant cause to complain of or lament over, the constant commission of all the variety of crimes against persons and property, and the too frequent neglect, in practice, of the rules of what is called "minor morals," it seems inconsistent, at least in Christians, to expend their affections and money in attempts to better the eternal happiness of distant nations at the cost, or very great danger of their own spiritual welfare. In my humble estimation the souls of our own countrymen are as valuable as those of the Chinese, and as many of them are in quite as much danger of perdition, I frankly confess my preferences are in favor of those of my own country and those of my own race. The Chinese have had Christianity preached amongst them for a longer period of time, perhaps, than those of the Anglo-Saxon race; as we have seen the Nestorians were in China a little more than five centuries after the birth of our Saviour. They have the holy scriptures, and if they will not accept of Christianity, the loss is theirs. I cannot consent to make them believers at the point of the bayonet; or that the arms of the United States directly or indirectly should be employed to aid any, or all the sects of Christian missionaries, sent to China by the churches and societies of our country; or be willing to countenance those who are ready to provoke political revolutions in China, for the chance that civil war and the destruction of

the government would increase the willingness of the Chinese to become Christians. As respects morality in general I do not learn they are inferior to Christian nations; nor do I perceive that the Chinese nation is less happy or less contented than other nations.

If Mr. S. W. Williams fairly represents the opinions of the American missionaries in China, and I think he does, it appears to me, those gentlemen have forgotten that although our political Constitution provides for the toleration of all religious opinions, it carefully guards against giving its sanction to sustain any religious doctrine by force or otherwise. The missionaries seem to entertain a notion that the Chinese nation is to be opened to Christianity by force of arms, by war, and seem to listen, if not impatiently, at least anxiously, for the sound of the first gun.

I would not do these gentlemen injustice. The language of Mr. Williams is pregnant with meaning; it comes from the fulness of his heart, and is almost prophetic. He almost cries aloud—Woe! Woe! to the misbelieving infidels of China!

I quote from the last pages of his volumes, and mark some of the expressions by *italics*.

"The evangelization of the people of China is *far more important* than the *form* of their *government*, the *extent of their empire*, or the *existence* of their *present institutions*. They can live as happily under other rule as under that of their own princes; they cannot find either security or liberty while the principles of their government remain as illiberal as they now are. *Many influences* will be called in *to begin* and *direct* this desirable work; but the greatest portion of the *labor* and *suffering* in accomplishing it, will *doubtless be done by natives*, by Chinese of intelligence, piety, learning and judgment. Diffusion of sound learning, improvement in the arts of life, increase in domestic comforts, elevation of the female character, reconstruction of the social system by giving woman her rightful place in it, interchange of thought with other nations and with themselves,—in a word, every thing that can make them happier and better will flow from the progress of the religion of the Cross. The way is opening and will enlarge, the mountains be levelled and the valleys filled up, until a free path is made for all these blessings; and *opposition* will only add *vigor* to *the determination of those* who know and feel their value *to persevere* till all should know them.

"Few plans of usefulness demand more wisdom, prudence, and union on the part of the church than this, and the *variety of agencies* to be employed in so extensive a field will call for all her means. Trade, manufactures, facilities for travelling and transportation, development of the resources and industry of the country, *political changes* and *even commotions* [bloodshed?], *may* and *probably will* tend to the furtherance of this work. They, and those engaged in them, are all instruments in the hands of the same wise Governor of the nations, and although they sometimes apparently conflict with the rapid progress of truth and good order, still good is educed in the end. The introduction of China into the family of Christian nations, her elevation from her present state of moral, intellectual and civil debasement, to that standing which she should take, and the free intercourse of her people and rulers with their fellow men of other climes and tongues, is a great work and a glorious one. It can only be done through the influences of the Gospel, and the truths and hopes of that system of religion are enough to do it. Through *whatever scenes of commotion, war and distress* they *are* to pass, the Chinese cannot again seclude themselves as they have done, nor can they shut out these causes of change. The Gospel is the only sure means of guiding them through their troubles, it is the only system on which they can safely reconstruct their shattered framework. This has now commenced, and *must go on*, and *happy they who shall assist* in the consummation. The promise which seems to refer to this people, (Is. xlix, 17,) has begun to be accomplished, and its encouraging nature offers a fit ending for the hasty sketch of the character and condition of the Chinese contained in these volumes.

'Behold these! from afar they shall come,
And behold these! from the North and from the West:
And these! from the LAND OF SINIM.'"

Surely the above expressions do not envelope that spirit of brotherly love which our Saviour endeavored to inculcate—Love

thy neighbor as thyself. The founder of Christianity did not teach that wrongs might be inflicted and injustice perpetrated for the purpose of achieving an object commendable and proper. There is no kindness or compassion for the Chinese in those sentiments.

Is it possible, we may ask, that, in the middle of this nineteenth century, amidst the march of intelligence, that priests under the teachings of our Saviour dare to utter deliberately that rather than not accomplish what they arrogantly determine to be right, they would prefer to see the Chinese empire bathed in blood and parcelled out to conquerors of their own selecting? The Chinese "can live as happily under other rule as under that of their own princes." What facts in the nature or in the history of this people warrant this assertion? And if it were demonstrated to be true, would that constitute a conclusive reason why they should be enslaved? Those foreigners who conspire to substitute a form of political government in China different from that which exists, under a hope that a religious change must follow in accordance with their views, may encourage each other by the idea, that, the Chinese will be as happy as ever under the new government, although it should be found that, (as it surely will,) after they have revolutionized the government, curtailed the limits of the empire, and swept away its present institutions, the people of China will be no nearer evangelization than the people of Europe and America are now. If the pages of "The Middle Kingdom" shadow forth what the Chinese are to expect from Christians and Christendom, to whom shall she turn for succor in her time of trial?

Well may the statesmen of China look suspiciously upon the efforts of religious missionaries, and regard them as covert designs to subvert the Chinese government.

There they stand before the gates of the Chinese empire—the agents and ministers of the meek and peaceful religion taught by the Son of God—with matches lighted and weapons bare, crying as they knock:—"Peaceably, if we may; but, forcibly, if we must!" Does not our Saviour command that evil shall not be done under a pretext that good may be attained?

What ought to be the fate of men who should enter the capital of Great Britain, proclaiming that, without regard to the *form* of government, the *extent* of the empire, or the nature of existing institutions, they had determined to establish Calvinism because, in their opinion, it is the only true form of Christianity, and therefore the only mode of reforming the 80,000 public women of London, and elevating them to a proper position; the only mode of removing the necessity for the prison establishments in Van Diemen's land and Norfolk island, and because, "in a word, every thing that can make them happier and better will flow from the progress of the religion of the Cross" which they know positively represents Calvinism and nothing else? If a band of such men were threatening to shake the British government to its foundation, without hesitating to consider the bloodshed and misery which they expected, under the pretext of reforming the vicious and profligate, and of destroying the disposition of the people to commit crime, should they not be seized and conveyed to some remote spot to reflect upon the cruel absurdity they had engaged to enact?

Those gentlemen suggest that it is proper to perpetrate deeds such as are, in their consequences, treasonable, revolutionary, sanguinary, to achieve what *they think* will be a blessing to the Chinese without even consulting them on the subject. It should be demonstrated that in those parts of the world where the Bible is freely read and discussed, a large proportion of the people observe its doctrines more or less closely; it should be demonstrated that freedom to preach and circulate Christianity has always established it in the hearts of the people, before men suggest the propriety of revolution, civil war and bloodshed, in a community of 360,000,000 of human beings. "It is well to have Bishops of New Zealand when we have Christianized all our *own* heathen; but with 30,000 individuals, in merely *one* of our cities, utterly creedless, mindless and principleless, surely it would look more like earnestness on our parts if we created Bishops of the New Cut, and sent 'right reverend fathers' to watch over the 'cure of souls' in the Broadway and the Brill. If our sense of duty will not rouse us to do this, at least our

regard for our interests should teach us, that it is not safe to allow this vast dungheap of ignorance and vice to seethe and fust, breeding a social pestilence in the very heart of our land."*

"Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

—

CHAPTER XXV.

Origin of the Opium War; The Policy of England according to Lord Palmerston; The East India Company at Canton; Lord Napier's Visit to Canton; His Death; Sir G. B. Robinson; Mode of selling Opium; Captain Elliot; Chinese Views; Seizure of Opium; Disturbances; Executions; Lin's Proclamation; Destruction of Opium; Value of a Naval force; Conduct of British officers in the War; Rations to English soldiers; Views of a Missionary; The Cohong at Canton; Conduct of British soldiers; Conduct of foreigners towards the Chinese; Notions on the use of Opium.

"It is well known that many high authorities at home, as well as abroad, have asserted, and still continue to assert, that the pending war between Great Britain and the Celestial Empire had its origin in the opium traffic. Now, in taking up this position, the expedition is made to appear in its most odious light, and were these arguments of its opponents once admitted as reasonable and founded on a true basis, England would, indeed, have cause to rue the events of the two past years."* Dr. McPherson thinks the origin of the war is to be discovered in "the arrogance and insolence of the Mandarins" towards British subjects resident and trading at Canton, admitting, however, that the sale of the drug may have tended in some degree to provoke the treatment which he characterises as arrogant and insolent.

In the United States very many public men, as well as others, are in the habit of not only of referring, but deferring to England, as an example of all that is great in State affairs, in law and in literature; in the affairs of army and navy; and regard England as the mirror of all that is good in morals and religion. England undoubtedly has high claims to consideration and respect; possibly no nation stands before her in many things, but she has not always been, in the opinion of very many intelligent people, honest or honorable in her course towards other nations.

Those of us who are ever ready to quote the acts of England as precedents to determine our own course, should bear in mind that, in whatever we imitate or copy from her we confess inferiority. The credit of originality cannot inure to the copyist; he must remain the inferior of the master, and so long as he is a copyist so long must his mind and genius be dependent. In the opinion of those I allude to, whatever England does, must be right, and therefore must be adopted by us; an unanswerable argument is, England—or it is the practice in England. I would not refrain from any thing, *because* it is English; nor would I adopt any thing solely because it is English—"Examine all things, and hold fast to that which is good," is a rule suited to us.

It is to be hoped that we will never imitate the policy of England in her foreign intercourse; nor adopt the principle declared by her minister to be her rule of action—"*Our interests are eternal, and these it is our duty to follow.*" In a word, the duty of England is to follow her interests without regard to others. "I hold that the real policy of England, *as separate from questions which involve her own particular political and commercial interests*, is to be the champion of justice," in moderation and prudence, "giving the weight of her moral sanction and support wherever she thinks justice is." "If I may be allowed to express in one sentence the principles which ought, in my mind, to guide an English statesman, I would adopt the expression of Mr. Canning, and say to every British minister that the interest of England ought to be the shibboleth of Peace."

In examining the history of the origin of the Opium War, we shall see how far England has been the "champion of justice,"

* London Labor and the London Poor. By Henry Mayhew. New York. 1851.

* Two Years in China. Narrative of the Chinese Expedition from its formation in April, 1840, to the treaty of peace in August, 1842. By D. McPherson, M. D. Madras Army, &c., &c., &c. Second Edition. London. 1843.

how far she has "followed her interests," and possibly discover how far she reduces the theory of her minister to practice, and be warned.

The following extract from Lord PALMERSTON'S speech, in reply to an attack made upon him in the House of Commons by Messrs. Anstley and Urquhart, I find in the number of the Washington "National Intelligencer" for April 4, 1848.

"We have endeavored," said his lordship, "to extend the commercial relations of this country, and to place them, where extension was not required, on a firmer basis, and a footing of greater security. I think that in that respect we have done good service to the country; and I hold that, with respect to alliances, England is a power sufficiently strong and potent to steer her own course, and need not tie herself as a necessary appendage to the policy of any other country. I hold that the real policy of England, as separate from questions which involve her own particular political and commercial interests, is to be the champion of justice and of right. In pursuing that course with moderation and prudence, not becoming the Quixote of the world, but giving the weight of her moral sanction and support wherever she thinks justice is—in pursuing that course, and in pursuing the more limited direction of our own particular interests, my conviction is, that, as long as England keeps herself in the right, and as long as she wishes to promote no injustice—as long as she wishes to countenance no wrong, as long as she seeks legitimate interests of her own, and sympathizes with right and justice in reference to others, she never will find herself altogether alone, but will be sure to find some other State of sufficient power, influence, and weight to support her in the course which she should think fit to pursue. Therefore I say that it is narrow policy to suppose that this country or that country is to be marked out as our eternal ally or our eternal enemy. We have no eternal allies and enemies. Our interests are eternal and these it is our duty to follow. When we find other countries marching in the same course, and pursuing the same objects, we so long consider them as fellow companions in the same path, and regard them with the most cordial feeling; and when we find other countries pursuing an opposite course and thwarting us, it is our duty to make allowance for their different conduct, and not to pass too harsh a judgment on them because they do not exactly see things in the same light as we do. It is our duty not lightly to engage this country in the dreadful responsibilities of war, because from time to time we may find this or that Power disinclined to concur with us. That has been, as far as possible, the guiding principle of my conduct, and if I may be allowed to express in one sentence the principles which ought, in my mind, to guide an English statesman I would adopt the expression of Mr. Canning, and say to every British Minister that the interest of England ought to be the Shibboleth of Peace."

Notice was given to the government of Canton in 1831, that on the cessation of the privileges of the East India Company, the King of England would appoint one of his officers to superintend British trade at Canton. The East India Company's privileges in China ceased in 1834, when the notice was repeated. The Chinese expected the appointment of a commercial head-man or chief by the British government, whose duty would be to supervise his own countrymen in their dealings; and who, in case of necessity, might communicate through the medium of the hong-merchants, in form of petition, with the officers of the government of Canton.

The East India Company at Canton was scarcely less magnificent or expensive than in other parts of Asia. I have translated the following account from the work of an Italian traveller.

"I passed the month of February [1829] at Canton in the house of Mr. Dent, a very rich merchant who has procured the title of Consul General of Sardinia in order that he may not be disturbed by the East India Company. This Company keeps employed in China twenty persons, under the modest name of *supercargo*, who cost as much as the expenses of five or six of our provinces. The first, who is president of the company has 250,000 francs, [$60,000] and so down in proportion to the youngest, one of whom told me he was miserably paid, and he received 20,000 francs [$4,000.] They commence as boys of eighteen years old; ordinarily they are sons of Directors of the India Company: they remain in China twenty-four or twenty-five years, which is the average period to reach the grade of president, which is almost always given by seniority, and if reasonably careful they return with a fortune of two millions. In that period of time they are often granted leave of absence to visit Europe, for three years at a time, without diminution or loss of salary. When in China, they live in Canton from October till the end of February, the season in which the Company's ships come for the tea. Then from the close of February till October they pass at Macao, a Portuguese colony, where they enjoy more liberty and suffer less from heat than at Canton. Both in Canton and Macao the Company furnishes a house or apartment to each, a common table splendidly served, and indeed supply them servants and food. At Canton and at Macao there are neither coaches, diversions, nor theatre, so that it seems impossible a man,

however much of a spendthrift he may be, could, as a bachelor, (for few are married,) having no occasion to spend, table and lodgings being *gratis*, and receiving for twenty or twenty-five years a salary of from twenty thousand francs, increasing every year till it reaches 250,000 ;—it seems impossible under such circumstances a man should be poor or have debts. Nevertheless, so great is the talent of the English to squander their money, that some presidents, after enjoying such a place for many years, have retired to England without a farthing.

"The table of the Company is a sort of state-table ; invitations are issued once or twice a week, and being invited or excluded by the Company is like being excluded or received at court in other countries."*

There are *gastronomes* still living in Macao, who speak of *the* Company with great unction.

In July, 1834, the Rt. Hon. Lord Napier, Chief Superintendent of British trade in China, having associated with him in his mission, John F. Davis and Sir George B. Robinson, formerly in the service of the East India Company, arrived at Macao, and without delay proceeded to Canton. As soon as the Governor of Canton was informed of this arrival at Macao, he ordered the hong-merchants to go and acquaint Lord Napier that he must remain there until legal permission should be granted him to proceed to Canton. His excellency's messengers arrived too late. Lord Napier had departed; an officer was despatched in pursuit to stop him, but passed him on the way ; so that the first intimation his Lordship received of the governor's disposition, was an edict addressed to the hong-merchants, in which he charges that the Superintendent had infringed the established laws of the empire by not awaiting at Macao for orders; by proceeding to Canton without requesting or receiving a permit from the officers of the customs; and that those custom-house waiters who had suffered him to pass were ordered to be tried, but, seeing that Lord Napier was a new-comer and ignorant of the laws, they would not be severely dealt with.

In the opinion of the Chinese government the haste of Lord Napier to reach Canton was indecent, or at least indecorous ; by his precipitancy he not only infringed the laws, but what was still worse in a Diplomat, he also outraged Chinese notions of ceremony and etiquette ; in a word, his first step was offensive, for, although a supercargo or sailor might proceed to Canton unnoticed, they being regarded perhaps as too insignificant to attract the government's attention, it was not considered respectful to the Chinese, in an official dignitary to waive the ceremony of asking and receiving permission to reside in Canton prior to landing there. The very first step of Lord Napier, though very innocently taken, was injudicious. The error of Lord Napier's second step is attributable to Lord Palmerston's ignorance of Chinese customs respecting intercourse with foreigners. Lord Palmerston instructed the chief Superintendent to report himself to the Governor at Canton *by letter*.

The Governor's edict to the hong-merchants above alluded to, further stated that the object of Lord Napier in coming to Canton was commercial business. "The celestial empire appoints officers, civil ones to rule the people, military ones to intimidate the wicked. The petty affairs of commerce are to be directed by the merchants themselves ; the officers have nothing to hear on the subject. . . . . If any affair is to be newly commenced, it is necessary to wait till a respectful memorial be made, clearly reporting it to the great emperor, and his mandate be received ; the great ministers of the celestial empire* are not permitted to have intercourse by letters with outside barbarians. If the said barbarian *eye* (Superintent) *throws in* private letters, I, the governor will not at all receive or look at them. With regard to the foreign factory of the Company, without the walls of the city, it is a place of temporary residence for foreigners coming to Canton to trade ; they are permitted only to eat, sleep, buy and sell in the factories ; they are not allowed to go out to ramble about."†

* Lettere del Conte Carlo Vidua publicate da Cesare Balbo.—Torino 1834. Lib. v.

* "The term so frequently heard in western countries for China—the Celestial Empire,—is derived from *Tien Chau*, i. e. Heavenly Dynasty ; meaning the kingdom which the dynasty appointed by heaven rules over ; but the term *Celestials*, for the people of that kingdom, is entirely of foreign manufacture, and their language could with difficulty be made to express such a patronymic." *The Middle Kingdom, vol. I. p.* 1.

† The Middle Kingdom, vol. II, p. 471.

In spite of the governor's declaration that he would receive no letters from the Superintendent, Lord Napier, the day after reaching Canton, reported himself *by letter*, which he sent to the city gates by his secretary, Mr. Astell. The reception of the letter was firmly declined. In the morning of his arrival, Lord Napier courteously dismissed the hong-merchants, who waited upon him with the edict they had carried to Macao, stating that he would communicate directly with the viceroy or governor.

Thus then, the second step of Lord Napier was unfortunately contrary to the Chinese notions of ceremony, and they fancied themselves treated with less respect than they had heretofore received from foreign nations, England not excepted. They regarded Lord Napier as a kind of head-merchant or chief supercargo, and not in the light of an officer of rank. This may be gathered from the Governor's report of the case to the Emperor, from which the following is an extract.

"The said barbarian eye would not receive the hong-merchants, but afterwards repaired to the outside of the city to present a letter to me your majesty's minister, Lu. On the face of the envelope, the forms and style of equality were used; and there were absurdly written the characters, *Ta Ying Kwoh* ,(*i. e.* Great English Nation.) Now it is plain on the least reflection, that in keeping the central and outside [people] apart, it is of the highest importance to maintain dignity and sovereignty. Whether the said barbarian eye has or has not official rank, there are no means of thoroughly ascertaining. But though he be really an officer of the said nation, he yet cannot write letters on equality with the frontier officers of the celestial empire. As the thing concerned the national dignity, it was inexpedient in the least to allow a tendency to any approach or advance, by which lightness of esteem might be occasioned. Accordingly, orders were given to Han Shanking, the colonel in command of the military forces of this department, to tell him authoritatively, that, by the statutes and enactments of the celestial empire, there has never been intercourse by letters with outside barbarians; that respecting commercial matters, petitions must be made through the medium of the hong-merchants, and that it is not permitted to offer or present letters. . . . . On humble examination, it appears that the commerce of the English barbarians has hitherto been managed by the hong-merchants and *tai pans;* there has never been a barbarian eye to form a precedent. Now, it is suddenly desired to appoint an officer. a superintendent, which is not in accordance with old regulations. Besides, if the said nation has formed this decision, it still should have stated in a petition, the affairs which, and the way how, such superintendent is to manage, so that a memorial might be presented, requesting your majesty's mandate and pleasure as to what should be refused, in order that obedience might be paid to it, and the same be acted on accordingly. But the said barbarian eye, Lord Napier, without having made any plain report, suddenly came to the barbarian factories outside the city to reside, and presumed to desire intercourse to and fro, by official documents and letters, with officers of the central flowery land; this was, indeed, far out of the bounds of reason."*

Again he says:—"To refer to England—Should an official personage from a foreign country proceed to the said nation, for the arrangement of any business, how could he neglect to have the object of his coming announced in a memorial to the said nation's king, or how could he act contrary to the requirements of the said nation's dignity, doing his own will and pleasure! Since the said barbarian eye states that he is an official personage, he ought to be more thoroughly acquainted with these principles."†

The governor, in order to bring Lord Napier to reason, determined to stop the English trade on the 16th August; but thinking it was cruel to punish all for the obstinacy and folly of one man, he sent a commission to inquire of Lord Napier why he had come to Canton, what business he was appointed to perform, and when he designed retiring to Macao. His lordship appealed to the people in a publication or notice setting forth that the trade was stopped because the governor had refused to receive his letter, and concluding that "the merchants of Great

* Chinese Repository, vol. iii, p. 327.
† The Middle Kingdom, vol. ii, p477.

Britain wish to trade with all China on principles of mutual benefit; they will never relax in their exertions till they gain a point of equal importance to both countries; and the viceroy will find it as easy to stop the current of the Canton river, as to carry into effect the insane determination of the hong." —*Chin. Rep., vol. III.*

Such a proceeding on the part of an envoy in any Christian country would be regarded as an insult and cause for demanding apology at least, if not declaration of war. On the 2nd of September, the Chinese governor stopped the English trade by proclamation, and all the Chinese servants of Lord Napier left his house. He immediately ordered the frigates Andromache and Imogene to Whampoa for the protection of British shipping and subjects. Both vessels were fired upon by the forts at the Bogue, which was returned; but no damage was sustained on either side.

Being harassed in mind by want of success in his mission, and restricted while the weather was hot, to the narrow limits assigned to foreigners at Canton, immediately after a sea voyage, his Lordship's health became seriously impaired. On the 14th he publicly determined to retire to Macao, to await instructions from England, and on the 21st embarked in a Chinese passage boat, but this boat was not permitted to proceed until the English frigates had retired from Whampoa, so that he was five days on a journey of 100 miles, which is frequently accomplished in less than twenty-four hours, though very often two or three days are spent contending against calms or head winds. A fortnight after his arrival at Macao his Lordship died.

As soon as Napier left Canton, trade was resumed.

The British cabinet did not approve of Lord Napier's proceedings and informed him that it was "not by force and violence that his majesty intended to establish a commercial intercourse between his subjects and China, but by conciliatory measures."

Throughout this affair the Chinese acted under the erroneous notion of the supremacy of China over England, and were sustained in it by the history of the British embasies to Peking. It is possible they suspected Lord Napier of attempting to break down this supremacy, by offering to correspond on equal terms. Their intercourse with foreigners had led them to believe they are crafty, avaricious and overbearing, and to insure the safety of China it was necessary to be watchful, and resist all measures which they did not clearly comprehend.

Now, was the treatment of Lord Napier, all circumstances considered, a sufficient cause of war? Great Britain magnanimously declares that it was not, by expressly disapproving of his Lordship's conduct;—the design to insult did not exist in the mind of the Chinese governor, and was not suspected by the English.

Both the Chinese and British residents agreed that it was desirable to have a commercial agent to superintend the trade at Canton; perhaps they did not agree, however, as to the degree of dignity and power he should possess.

The British superintendents resided at Macao; they kept a clerk at Canton to sign manifests of cargoes. Trade proceeded quietly.

During the business of 1835--36 the Chief Superintendent, Sir G. B. Robinson remained on board of a cutter at Lintin, among the opium smugglers and regular trading vessels anchored there. He recommended the headquarters of the Superintendency to be permanently established afloat at Lintin, so as to be beyond the reach of the Chinese officers. He suggested that a resort to force, and the seizure of an island of the mouth of the Canton river would be necessary to bring about a proper understanding with the Chinese government. "But," said the Duke of Wellington on hearing of the result of Lord Napier's diplomacy, "that which we now require is, not to lose the enjoyment of what we have got," and, it is presumed, advocated pacific measures.

In December, 1836, for economical reasons, Sir G. B. Robinson's office was abolished, and the supervision of British trade placed under Captain Charles Elliot of the Royal Navy. On the day of his installation into office he addressed a note, through the required medium, the hong-merchants, requesting to be recognized as Superintendent of trade, with leave to reside at Canton

where his presence seemed to be necessary owing to the uncertain state of trade. Thi uncertain state of trade, meant really troubles growing out of dealing in opium, which was and is contraband by Chinese law. Tang Tingching had succeeded Lu as governor, and procured the Emperor's sanction to Capt. Elliot's request, and on the 12th April, 1837, the office of the British Superintendent, having received a permit from the collector of customs, was opened at Canton.

In his note acknowledging the receipt of the imperial sanction, Captain Elliot said to the Governor of Canton, "The undersigned respectfully assures his excellency, that it is at once his duty and his anxious desire, to conform in all things to the imperial pleasure; and he will therefore heedfully attend to the points adverted to in the papers now before him."

The mode of selling opium to the Chinese by foreigners, chiefly Englishmen, is from floating depots or receiving vessels, as they are called, which prior to 1840 were generally anchored at Lintin. On paying at Canton for the quantity agreed upon, the purchaser received an order for his opium on the commander of the merchant's receiving-vessel at Lintin, where he received the drug and landed it at his own risk and peril. Neither the vender of the opium nor the commander of the receiving vessel ran any risk, either pecuniary or personal. But the purchaser and his agents were subject to many difficulties by encountering the revenue vessels, many of which were competitors in the illicit traffic. Scuffles and fights were frequent between different parties of smugglers and the Chinese revenue officers. What was carried on very largely in the waters about Canton, was repeated on a smaller scale along the northeast coast.

About $20,000,000 were annually carried out of the country in treasure to pay for opium, chiefly the growth of British India, where it is cultivated expressly, if not exclusively, for the Chinese market. The drain of precious metal was felt to be a serious evil by the government; and Chinese philanthropists, for it seems that even heathens may entertain feelings of active and disinterested benevolence for their own countrymen, grieved to see the moral evil, the degradation of mind and decadence of body, produced by the practice of smoking opium. It was in vain that learned and good men wrote and spoke against the use of the opium pipe; their efforts influenced only those who were capable of seeing for themselves the destructive consequences of dissipation. Public opinion in the best classes of Chinese society reprobated the vice; and this public opinion, possibly, determined the Chinese government to arrest the importation of opium by force.

About the period of Capt. Elliot's removal to Canton, a Chinese gentleman named Hu-Nai-tsi submitted a memorial to the government on the opium question. He assumed that, inasmuch as it was impossible to prevent the importation or use of the drug, it would be judicious to legalize the opium trade, and encourage the growth of the poppy in China; from this measure he expected to diminish very much, if not arrest the large exportation of treasure, and hold the vice somewhat in check: "the tens of millions of precious money, which now annually ooze out of the empire, will be saved, the revenue increased and all immorality and crime necessarily growing out of contraband trade will be arrested."

The general impression at Canton was, that the trade would be legalized; and therefore, preparations were made in India to augment the production of opium.

The views of Hu-Nai-tsi were combatted by other statesmen. A Cabinet Minister, Chu Tsun, submitted a memorial in which he urged that "a strict observance of the laws should be insisted on, for, if the laws against the use of opium were repealed, the people might come to despise all law. It has been represented that advantage is taken of the laws against opium, by extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants, to benefit themselves. Is it not known, then, that when government enacts a law, there is necessarily an infraction of that law? And though the law should sometimes be relaxed and become ineffectual, yet surely it should not on that account be abolished; any more than we should cease to eat because of stoppage of the throat. The laws which forbid the people to do wrong may be likened to the dykes which prevent the overflowing of water. If

any one, urging then, that the dykes are very old and therefore useless, we should have them thrown down, what words could express the consequences of the impetuous rush and all destroying overflow! . . . . If we can but prevent the importation of opium, the exportation of dollars will then cease of itself, and the two offences will both at once be stopped. Moreover is it not better, by continuing the old enactments, to find even a patient remedy for the evil, than by a change of the laws to increase the importation still further? . . . . . The Chinese opium could not compete with that brought from abroad, because all men prize what is strange and undervalue whatever is in ordinary use; besides it might not be as well manufactured. Its cultivation would occupy rich and fertile land now used for the production of grains: to draw off in this way the waters of the great fountain requisite for the production of food and raiment, and to lavish them upon the root, whence calamity and disaster spring forth, is an error like that of the physician, who, when treating a mere external disease, drives it inwards to the heart and centre of the body. Shall the fine fields of Kwangtung, which produce their three crops every year, be given up for the cultivation of this noxious weed?"*

Hu Kin, a sub-censor at the imperial court, presented a memorial on the necessity of preventing the exportation of silver, and mentioned the names of several Englishmen, Parsees and Americans who were extensively engaged in the opium trade. Both these writers entertain a notion, that the design of foreigners in bringing opium to China, was to debilitate and impoverish the nation as a preparatory step to its subjugation; they argue that such must be the case, as foreigners do not consume the drug in their own country.

The discussion amongst the Chinese begot a like debate amongst the foreigners at Canton, the majority of whom were smugglers. Their arguments may be found in the "Chinese Repository." The efforts to stop the opium trade by the Chinese were supposed, by many, not to be sincere.

In September, 1837, an order was transmitted from the provincial government through the hong-merchants to Capt. Elliot, to drive away the receiving ships from Lintin, and to send the emperor's command to his king that henceforth they might be prohibited from coming. Capt. Elliot declined forwarding any order to his sovereign which did not come *direct* from the Chinese government; consequently, the order was sent through the prefect and colonel of the department. In his reply, Capt. Elliot stated that his authority did not reach beyond the legal trade of Great Britain with this empire, and that his gracious sovereign had not been made acquainted with the existence of any other.

The numerous collisions which were daily occurring between the smugglers' boats and revenue officers, and the general excitement prevailing induced Capt. Elliot to lay a detailed account of the opium trade before his government, and at the same time suggested a mode for opening communication with the imperial court. In reply, Lord Palmerston states, that "her majesty's government do not see their way in such a measure with sufficient clearness to justify them in adopting it at the present moment." He adds that *no protection can be afforded to "enable British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts.*"

Had the British government honestly and rigidly adhered to this position there would have been no war, and the cultivation of the poppy by the East India Company for the Chinese market must have ceased. The penalty for trading in opium was now death by the Chinese law; and it is not probable that the trade would have been carried on to great extent at the imminent risk of both life and property. But there seems to have been a mental or diplomatic reservation which neutralized the position of the minister, if we may judge by the subsequent acts of the government. Protection would be afforded to the legal commerce of British subjects, which, as well as their personal liberty, was endangered by the efforts of the Chinese authorities to reach the contraband trade; therefore, when constraint was put upon either

* The Middle Kingdom, vol. ii, p. 49.

for the purpose of crushing the opium traffic, the military power of England was set in motion to force them to let both alone. This diplomatic quibble caused the death of thousands of unoffending people.

About the close of 1837, Captain Elliot struck the British flag at Canton and retired to Macao, in consequence of refusing, in obedience to his instructions, to entitle his letters to the governor "petitions;" the governor declined receiving communications from him in any other form. It must be remembered that Capt. Elliot had assured the governor that it was his duty and desire to conform to the wishes of the imperial government.

Difficulties daily increased between the Chinese and their rulers, by the increased efforts of the imperial government to check the trade. Retailers at Canton were imprisoned, and those found in other places brought there in chains. During the year 1838, the opium traffic had increased very much, and the collisions growing out of it seemed to endanger the continuance of the whole foreign commerce. On the 3rd December, twelve small boxes containing 250 pounds of opium were seized while landing, and the coolies who had it in charge were carried prisoners into the city; they declared that they had been employed by Mr. Innes, a British merchant, to bring the opium from on board of an American ship at Whampoa, consigned to Mr. Talbot. Both these gentlemen were ordered to leave Canton within three days; but Mr. Talbot stated that neither he nor the ship had any connexion whatever with this opium, and in consequence the order to leave was revoked. The hong-merchants, who were sureties for the good conduct of foreigners, were irritated and declared to the Chamber of Commerce, which had been formed at the suggestion of Lord Napier, they would pull down his house if Mr. Innes did not depart; and they would not rent their houses to any who would not give bond to abstain from those flagrant violations of the law. The Chamber of Commerce, which no doubt included a large number of opium smugglers among its members, protested of course against the destruction of their personal dwellings.*

* The Middle Kingdom.

While Mr. Innes still remained in Canton the governor ordered a convicted dealer in opium to be put to death in front of the factories, in order to render foreigners more sensible of the enormity of the crime they were abetting. The officer was making preparations to obey his orders, near the American flagstaff, when the foreigners sallied forth, pushed down the bamboo tent he was erecting, and forbade him in loud tones to execute the convict there. The officer gave way, and strangled his prisoner in a neighboring street. A crowd had collected which the foreigners attempted to disperse. Blows were exchanged, and the foreigners were forced to retire to the factories, which, under the impression that two Chinese had been seized, the mob assailed with stones and brickbats: the mob held command of the square for three hours, and the danger was imminent when the district magistrate and police interfered and dispersed the crowd.

"This occurrence tended to impress both the government and people with contempt and hatred for foreigners and their characters, fear of their designs and the necessity of restraining them. The majority of them were engaged in the opium trade, and all stood before the empire as violators of the laws, while the people themselves suffered the dreadful penalty."* In Vicksburg they would have been Lynched.

The Chamber of Commerce declared its innocence in provoking the disturbance, and protested against the conversion of the public square into a place of execution. The governor in reply chided them for opium dealing, and declared his design of causing all persons convicted of opium dealing to be put to death there.

On the evening of this eventful day, Capt. Elliot arrived at Canton, accompanied by armed boats from Whampoa. At a general meeting of foreigners, he attributed these events to smuggling on the river, and declared he would order all British-owned vessels to leave it within three days. His orders and entreaties had no effect on his countrymen. In a public notice he remarked "this course of traffic was rapidly staining the British character with deep disgrace,"

* The Middle Kingdom.
† The Middle Kingdom.

and exposing the regular commerce to great peril, and that he would shrink from no responsibility in drawing it to a conclusion.†

"Mr. Innes retired to Macao," says Mr. Williams, "and the regular trade was resumed at the beginning of January," 1839;—but the Chinese still remained resolute in their purpose to abolish the opium traffic, which certain interested parties as resolutely determined to perpetuate.

On the 26th February, 1839, Fung A-ngan was strangled in front of the factories for his connexion with opium: the foreign flags, English, American, Dutch and French were all hauled down in consequence.* The stoppage of all trade was threatened, and the governor urged the immediate departure of all opium ships from Chinese waters.

On the 10th of March, 1839, Lin, the distinguished Chinese commissioner, invested with the fullest powers ever conferred on a subject, arrived at Canton, charged with the Herculean labor of abolishing the opium trade.

"One feels a degree of sympathy for the helpless condition of officers and statesmen sincerely desirous of doing their country service, and yet so sadly ignorant of the only effectual preventive. They might as well have tried to concert a measure to stop the Yellow river in its impetuous flow, as to check the opium trade by laws and penalties. *Nothing but the Gospel and its influences could help them,* and these they really know nothing of, though they forbade them as far as they did know them; but foreigners did not dare to violate their prohibitions on this head.' China was shut."—*The Middle Kingdom, vol. 2, p. 505.*

"We sympathize with the Emperor and his Ministers in their endeavors to stay the progress of this evil; *yet when all the powerful restraints and sanctions of the law of God,* and a full knowledge of the disastrous effects, have not been able to stay the *use of ardent spirits in Christian lands,* how much less were the chances of success in this case! Lin appears to have been well fitted for the mission."—*The Middle Kingdom, vol. 2, p. 510.*

As the gospel and its influences could not help Christians to stay the use of ardent spirits in Christian lands how could we anticipate that the gospel and its influences would help pagans to stay the use of opium in pagan lands. This is absurd. Purely animal appetites are not controlled by religious feeling, except in those codes where abstinence from certain things is made an article of the creed; as abstinence from pork by the Jews, and from fermented and distilled spirits by the Mahomedans, and from the use of animal food by the Hindoos. The consumption of these several things by believers, in the respective creeds, is supposed to be at the peril of eternal life, and they refrain in terror of the consequences; and when the use of opium or any thing else is established in the opinion of people to be at the price of eternal salvation, or the reverse, their religious feeling will restrain them to a great extent, but not entirely.

On the 18th of March, Lin issued his first proclamation to the hong-merchants and foreigners; he required the latter to deliver, within three days, every particle of opium in the receiving ships and to give bond that they would bring no more, under penalty of death. On the last of the three days the Chamber of Commerce met, and through their President, W. S. Wetmore, addressed the hong-merchants, stating that they would give a definite reply in four days, and remarked, "there is an almost unanimous feeling in the community of the absolute necessity of the foreign residents of Canton having no connexion with the opium traffic."

About ten o'clock P. M., the hong-merchants again met the Chamber of Commerce, and stated that if *some* opium was not given up, two of their number would be beheaded in the morning. The merchants present, British, Parsee, and American subscribed 1037 chests to be tendered to the Commissioner; but the next morning the hong-merchants returned, saying that this quantity was insufficient.

In the afternoon Lin endeavored to induce Mr. Dent, a leading English merchant supposed to be extensively engaged in the opium business, to meet him at the city gates, for the purpose, it was presumed, of securing him as a hostage. But Mr. Dent refused to go to the city without a safe-warrant. This was declined.

* The Middle Kingdom.

In the meantime Capt. Elliot was at Macao. On the 22d of March he addressed a note to the governor, asking whether he designed to make war on English ships and subjects, and at the same time expressed his readiness to meet the Chinese officers and use "his sincere efforts to fulfil the pleasure of the great emperor as soon as it was made known to him."*

It is supposed this note never reached its destination, having been sent through the sub-prefect. Capt. Elliot further requested the assistance of the H. B. M. ship Larne to protect British interests; and in a circular, suggested that all British opium and other vessels should repair to Hong Kong, and prepare to resist aggression.

On Sunday evening, Capt. Elliot arrived at Canton, and conducted Mr. Dent in the most conspicuous manner to the British Consulate.

The Chinese supposed that the foreigners were about to abscond, and therefore a heavy guard was placed over the factories, and the Chinese servants were withdrawn; so that by nine o'clock at night their only inmates were the foreigners, about 275 in number.

On the 25th of March most of the foreign merchants signed a paper pledging themselves "not to deal in opium, nor to attempt to introduce it into the Chinese empire," but subsequently some of them actively engaged in the trade, excusing their course under the plea of having promised under compulsion.

Capt. Elliot applied for passports for himself and countrymen, and requested that the Chinese servants might be permitted to return to their foreign employers; but these requests could not be granted until the opium should be given up.

No Chinese was permitted to carry water or food to the foreigners; even correspondence with Whampoa and Macao was interdicted, and one boatman was put to death for attempting to carry a letter. Means, however, were found to transmit letters.

Lin next issued an exhortation to foreigners to deliver up the drug. He had promised to reopen the trade as soon as the opium was delivered and the bonds given.

On the 27th of March, Capt. Elliot issued a circular, demanding that all opium owned by British subjects, should be delivered into his custody by six o'clock P. M. of that day, and holding himself responsible to its owners, individually, for its value, as agent of the British government.

Before night, 20,283 chests of opium, which cost nearly eleven millions of dollars, were surrendered to Captain Elliot, and the next day tendered to Commissioner Lin. The opium was on board of twenty-two vessels; this fleet of smugglers was ordered to the Bogue, there to wait for its delivery to the Chinese officers. Lin and the Governor both went down to superintend the transfer. On the 2nd of April, arrangements for delivering the opium were completed, on the 21st of May, the whole was stored near the Bogue.

On the 5th of May, one-half the opium having been landed, the guards were removed from the factories, and communication with the shipping resumed. Sixteen persons, English, Parsee, and American were ordered to leave Canton and never return, ten of whom departed in company with Capt. Elliot on the 24th, who had previously enjoined that no British ship should enter the port, or any British subject remain in Canton, on the ground that they would not be safe.

The Emperor directed the opium to be destroyed by Lin and his official colleagues, in the presence of the civil and military officers, the inhabitants of the coast, and the foreigners, "that they may know and tremble thereat." The order was strictly obeyed; 20,291 chests, (8 having been added from Macao,) received from the English, were completely destroyed. No Roman Emperor could have done more for Romans, at such a sacrifice of treasure.

The proceedings of the Chinese, their strict obedience to all orders issued relative to the foreigners in the factories, during the opium excitement, form a noteable comment on the following sentence from The Middle Kingdom—"According to their phraseology [edicts] there can possibly be no failure in the execution of every order; if they [edicts] are once made known, the obedience of the people follows almost as a matter of course; while at the same time, both the writer and and the people know that most of them are but little better than waste paper."

* The Middle Kingdom.

But alas for Commissioner Lin! all this was in vain, for smuggling commenced again, even before the whole of the opium at the Bogue was destroyed.

During the year 1839, British vessels did not enter the port, but English trade was almost all carried under the flags of other nations. Lin was anxious that British vessels should pursue legal commerce without restraint, except that a bond, under penalty of death, should be given not to trade in opium. The British superintendent forbade British ships from entering the port on these terms; at the time, however, negotiations had been opened when they were arrested by the unauthorized entrance of an English ship, and by a conflict between two of H. B. M. ships and sixteen men-of-war junks under Admiral Koran. Several minor difficulties and collisions had previously occurred, so that the two nations were virtually at war.

But there would have been no war had the Chinese been able, by a well appointed navy, to have enforced observance of their revenue laws. Had China destroyed every vessel and put to death every person captured in the opium or other contraband traffic, England would have had to submit, under the law of nations, which forbids interference of one nation with the domestic laws of another. England would have had no just pretext for war.

The restraint put on Capt. Elliot, at the time he surrendered the opium was construed into a national insult, because he was the representative, an officer of Great Britain, although regarded by the Chinese merely as a *taipan*, that is, chief supercargo, or head merchant. He was never *recognised as an officer* by the Chinese Government.

England made war on China, according to Lord John Russell, (1.) "to obtain reparation for insults and injuries offered her majesty's superintendent and subjects," while forcing them to give up contraband goods, confiscated by Chinese law: who ever heard before of a convicted smuggler or thief bringing an action at law for defamation and assault against the officers who arrested him: (2.) "to obtain indemnification for the losses the merchants had sustained under threats of violence;" or rendered into plain English, to force the Chinese government to pay smugglers for the opium which was a lawful prize, without drawback, when taken within the jurisdiction of the empire; and (3.) "lastly, get security that persons and property trading with China should in future be protected from insult and injury, and trade maintained upon a proper footing;" meaning actually that the opium trade should be continued, duty free, whether the Chinese government liked it or not. Such were the alleged grounds for the war; but very many people think these were not the true ones.

In 1836, Sir G. B. Robinson speaking of opium smugglers, said: "In no case have Europeans been engaged in any kind of conflict or affray; and while this *increasing* and *lucrative* trade is in the hands of the parties whose vital interests are so totally dependent on its safety and continuance, and by whose *prudence* and *integrity* it has been brought into its present *increasing* and flourishing condition, I think little apprehension may be entertained of dangers emanating from imprudence on their part. On the question of smuggling opium I will not enter in this place. Whenever his majesty's government directs us to prevent British vessels engaging in the traffic, we *can enforce any order to that effect*, but a more certain method would be to PROHIBIT THE GROWTH OF THE POPPY AND THE MANUFACTURE OF OPIUM IN BRITISH INDIA."

"Lord Ellenbrough spoke of the million and a half sterling revenue 'derived from foreigners,' which if the opium monopoly was given up and its cultivation abandoned, they must seek elsewhere."

Lord Melbourne said: "We possess immense territories [how did they obtaim them?] peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though he would wish that the government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, he was not prepared to pledge himself to relinquish it."

"The Duke of Wellington thought the Chinese government was insincere in its efforts, and therefore deserved little sympathy."*

As we have seen, Lord Palmerston thought then and has since said, the real "policy of England is to be the champion of justice;"

*The Middle Kingdom.

but as the interests of England are eternal, it is her duty to follow them.

It is possible that a bonus of ten or twenty millions of dollars and some commercial favors delicately offered by the Chinese government to that of England for abolishing the manufacture of opium in British India, would have been accepted; and received by the iron Duke as a proof of sincerity.

It is an opinion with very many, that the Chinese government would do wisely to legalize the opium trade, and derive advantage from a practice which they do not approve but cannot prevent. Similar views have been suggested in the Western hemisphere, relative to another contraband trade which all deprecate but cannot prevent. It would be humane to legalize the slave trade, because the victims of it might be made more comfortable on their passage to the scene of their labors, and, as Mr. Williams suggests, while contemplating the probable overthrow of the Chinese government as a concomitant to the evangelization of the empire, the negroes "*can live as happily under other rule as under that of their own princes.*" England has abolished the name of slavery in her Western possessions, and does not recognize it in her eastern dominions; but for the "peculiar institution" as we call it, which is found to be necessary to her "eternal interests," she has found the happy name of "apprenticeship." The fact of slavery is not so oppressive as the thought of it; there is much in the name; liberty is more grand and admirable as an idea than it is as a reality. England's "apprentices" of the West Indies; and her Hindoo "colonists" of Mauritius are all virtually slaves for life. Nevertheless, benevolent, philanthropic, Christian England weeps and wails over the disgrace, the sinfulness of slavery as it exists in the United States, although we have given it a less offensive name and called it "our peculiar institution."

For the sake of preserving a revenue of two millions of pounds sterling from her possessions in India, England made war on China, under the pretext she had been insulted in the persons of Capt. Elliot and the smuggling merchants trading at Canton.

The mode and manner in which the war was conducted are creditable to the military and naval science of Great Britain; but the horrors of it were not lessened on this account. A few sentences from the narrative of Captain Arthur Cunynghame, aide-de-camp to Major General Lord Saltoun, K. C. B. G. C. H., commanding her majesty's and the Hon. East India Company's troops in China,* and that of Dr. McPherson; a few sentences from these works show the character of the war.

"In a part of the religious building in which we had taken up our quarters, were large stores of rich silks and satins, of the finest Nankin manufacture; these, as you will readily imagine, becoming the lawful *loot* [plunder] of the captors, were without loss of time divided. The portion, however, which fell to my share, passed into the hands of some one else on its way on board, which many have since told me I well deserved.

"Although very many rare and curious things fell into the hands of those who took any pains in collecting them, but little specie was discovered in the town, it either having been removed or buried prior to our arrival, for which indeed they had ample time, by reason of our before mentioned delay at Swei-Shan, or the Admiral's Pagoda. Individual instances doubtless did occur where large sums of Sycee fell into private hands; but those who were sufficiently alive to help themselves to this enticing article, had generally the prudence to store it away with the utmost despatch in the ever-ready and capacious transports, and to say as little about it as possible. The prize agents, I believe, did not get much more than fifty or sixty thousand dollars—a contemptible sum in a town which, for opulence and trade, ranks among the very first cities in this stupendous monarchy.

"Most of us provided ourselves with warm cloaks, which were plentifully strewed about, as we reckoned that we might have to spend the winter in the same latitude; and from the previous accounts which had been given us of the intense cold at that season, we deemed it wise to make some preparation for it. I was fortunate enough to stumble upon some ornaments of jade, which stone, when carved is very highly prized in the country. * * * *

* Recollectionsn of Service China.

"Among other articles I procured were two joeys or batons of office, which are presented by the Emperor to those who are sufficiently fortunate to render themselves worthy of his notice and favour. * * *

"I moreover procured a very good specimen of the metal mirrors, so much used prior to the introduction of the common quicksilvered glasses."

The private property of the Chinese does not seem to have been much respected by her majesty's troops in China.

"I am ashamed to say there were many who could not restrain the wish, that we should be allowed to enter this fine city (Nankin) in the character of conquerors, knowing that it lay, as it were, so entirely within our grasp; yet when we came calmly to canvass the horrors which would inevitably ensue, and to call to our recollections the dreadful scenes which had so recently occurred at the towns we had just left, which would unquestionably be re-enacted here—scenes the bare recollection of which made the blood thrill through our veins with horror—there was not, I am sure, one man present who did not wish that negotiations so happily commenced, should be allowed quietly to proceed, and this now happy city should be spared.

"The desire of aggrandizing the condition by force and fraud is unjust in itself, and unhallowed as a motive for war; it is, notwithstanding, the common motive for collecting armies, and it is the principal motive which keeps armies in activity. The passion of cupidity is an aggrandizing passion. It has a forward course, it amasses materials and organizes them into armies, by a process that may in some manner be called instinctive. The desire of money to buy bread fills the military ranks; the hopes of spoil stimulate to exertion. The man of arms is purchasable as a commodity of traffic, and applicable to all uses; consequently an instrument of unhallowed purposes for a bribe of money.*

The British army suffered severely from disease, which destroyed more than the arms of the enemy. Dr. McPherson says—"It required no gifted sooth-sayer to prognosticate what the results would be, where men were placed in tents pitched on low paddy fields, surrounded by stagnant water, putrid and stinking from quantities of dead animal and vegetable matter. Under a sun hotter than that ever experienced in India, the men on duty were buckled up to the throat in their full dress coatees; and in consequence of there being so few camp followers, fatigue parties of Europeans were daily detailed to carry provisions and stores from the ships to tents, and to perform all menial employments, which, experience has long taught us, they cannot stand in a tropical climate. The poor men, working like slaves, began to sink under the exposure and fatigue. Bad provisions, low spirits, and despondency drove them to drink. This increased their liability to disease, and in the month of November there were barely 500 effective men in the force. A sort of infatuation seemed to possess the minds of the authorities. Medical men, as is often the case, were put down as croakers, their recommendations were neither listened nor attended to."

If we may credit Captain Cunynghame many probably shortened their lives more by the active use of the cup and fork than by exposures to the influence of the climate:—"to each individual in the mess was allowed, *per diem*, three bottles of beer, one of wine, and a pint of brandy. * * *

"I have known instances of men having eaten as much as six and eight pounds of pork during the day, with raw vegetables and watermelons *ad libitum*."

The fatality amongst British subjects, English, Scotch and Irish, residing within the tropics is no criterion of the salubrity of the climate. Their social habits lead them to indulge freely in the pleasures of the table, drawn from choice bins and savory dishes, more freely abroad than at home. The preserved meats and vegetables of almost every country of Europe frequently appear at table; no expense seems to be considered too great to procure luxurious diet.

Of the events of the war I have nothing to say. It was closed in 1842, by the supplementary treaty of the Bogue. The result is generally known; liberty to trade freely with any Chinese, at any or all of the ports of Canton, Amoy, Fuchau, Ningpo and Shanghai; "indemnity for the past and security

*Robert Jackson, M. D., Discipline of Armies.

for the future," i. e. $21,000,000, including $6,000,000 for the opium seized and destroyed at the Bogue by the Chinese authorities. The opium traffic to be continued, in as much as the treaty is silent on the subject. The cost of this war to the Chinese, besides loss of life and human happiness which should count as something, $21,000,000 in cash to the English; the expense of preparing armies and fleets to resist them, and then add about $10,000,000 for the private property destroyed or stolen by the officers and men, under the name of "lawful plunder."

"Our moderate demands will forever redound to the credit of Great Britain. We paved the way to the utter extinction of that exclusiveness and idea of supremacy hitherto insisted on by the Celestial Empire and WE have laid open a most valuable mart of commerce to the world at large; and, *with the help of Providence*, we yet may be instrumental in sowing the seeds of Christianity amongst a skilful and intelligent people."*

When the negotiations for peace were frustrated at the Bogue in January 1841, Mr. S. Wells Williams, thought it was Providential—it was the will of God that the war should go on, that the eyes of the Chinese should be opened to the lights of Christianity. The opium was lost sight of, and for a moment, behold the English army engaged, under Providence, in a crusade against paganism in China and in behalf of the true cross. Christians were lapsing back into the ancient mode of converting the heathen at the point of the bayonet. Mr. Williams says:

"A higher hand should be recognized in the failure of this treaty. The *great desire of Christian people*, who believed that China was finally to receive the Gospel, *was that she might be opened to their benevolent efforts*, but this treaty confined the trade to Canton, and left the country as closed as ever to all good influences, commercial. political, social and religious, while the evils of smuggling, law-breaking, and opium-smoking along the coast were unmolested. The crisis which had brought an expedition to the country was not likely soon to recur, if this failed to break down its seclusiveness; and no nation would attempt it if England retired. The *opening of the empire was not contemplated in this treaty*, and that this should be *one result of the quarrel, was ardently desired by every well wisher of China*."

Every truly religious Christian ardently desires that, not only those of China, but the inhabitants of the entire earth should become Christians and act on the precepts of our Saviour. But surely in these days of general knowledge, few wished evangelization to be at the point of the sword, to be a necessary result of any quarrel or wholesale murder, as war is. Will Mr. Williams and those who adopt his views behold "A Higher Hand" in the failure of the treaties of 1842, (which brought peace) to subject the country 'to all good influences, commercial, political, social and religious,' and at the same time abolish 'the evils of smuggling, law-breaking and opium-smoking:' these latter evils were as rife at the close of 1848 as before the war, and how long they will continue seems beyond the power of human conjecture. "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

Prior to the year 1842, foreign commerce was confined to the port of Canton; and there, foreigners were restricted to trade with Chinese merchants who were designated by the government. In a word, foreign trade was a monopoly in the hands of a company of twelve Chinese, who constituted what was known as the cohong, and the members of this cohong were called hong-merchants. In consideration of certain advantages, they guaranteed the good conduct of foreigners, the payment of duties, port charges, &c.

One of the effects of the English crusade or war of opium toleration was the abolition of the cohong and opening the foreign trade to as many Chinese as were disposed to compete for it. It had been anticipated as an advantage to foreigners, and was thought to be a point gained, but opinion has changed in this respect. It is supposed now by many that the destruction of the cohong is an evil to foreigners. The foreign merchant can trade with any Chinese merchant he may select, but there is a natural difficulty in the way which was overlooked when the British were bargaining for a golden future. The Chinese language is not easily acquired; few if any Anglo-Saxon merchants in

*Dr. McPherson—Two Years in China.

China speak it, and Canton or "pigeon English" is far from being universally understood by the Chinese. Consequently business must be transacted to a considerable extent, through the medium of interpreters, who, in fact act as business brokers. These men are irresponsible, and, therefore, business transactions are attended by more anxiety and care than they formerly were under the rule of the hong-merchants, whose integrity was to some extent guarantied by the government. It is true the hong-merchants were brokers to some extent, and doubtlessly derived profits from this branch of business; if they were dishonest, they were under some restraint, and the foreigner was liable to be cheated by only twelve men, whose interests lay in treating him well; but now he is obnoxious to the malpractices of hundreds of brokers, and the number will multiply when the city gates are thrown open to foreigners. The difficulty can be met only by merchants learning to speak the Chinese language, and becoming judges of the quality of goods, and acquainted with the cost of production or manufacture of such articles as they wish to purchase.

The government of England has been ong marked for carrying out the "protective policy" to its fullest extent. In China rival interests claimed from her the benefits of this wise policy; the question was which of the two shall be abandoned or protected, British manufacturers at home, or the growers of opium in British India. The latter interest is supposed to yield a revenue of nearly ten millions of dollars to the English treasury. By their treaty the English were prohibited from visiting any port of China, for trade, to the North of the 32nd degree: and by order in Council, vessels were liable to a penalty of £100 for every violation of the treaty in this respect. Nevertheless, Capt. Hope of H. M. S. Thalia was recalled from the station for stopping two or three opium vessels proceeding above Shanghai, in order that he might not, as Lord Palmerston said, "interfere in such a manner with the undertakings of British subjects."* The proclivity of the government, although not declared openly, it may be inferred, is to protect the opium growers. But the British home manufactures assert that "commerce with China cannot be conducted on a permanently safe and satisfactory basis so long as the contraband trade in opium is permitted. Even if legalized, the trade would inevitably undermine the commerce of Great Britain with China, and prevent its being, as it otherwise might be, an advantageous market for our manufactures. It would operate for evil in a double way: first, by enervating and impoverishing the consumers of the drug, it would disable them from becoming purchasers of our productions; and second, as the Chinese would then be paid for their produce chiefly as now in opium, the quantity of that article imported by them having of late years exceeded in value the tea and silk we receive from them, our own manufactures would consequently be, to a great extent, precluded."* Between 1803–8, the annual demand for woolens alone was nearly £150,000, more than it was for *all* products of British industry between 1834–39; while in that interval, the opium trade has risen from 3,000 to 30,000 chests annually. These arguments have not prevailed. Possibly the opium traffic indirectly increases the ability of the government to indulge in nepotism, and to gratify noble families by providing places for their younger sons? Humanity seems to engage very little of the attention of statesmen while they are settling the policy of trade.

The conduct, the bearing of British troops towards the Chinese around Canton, and elsewhere in China has left an abiding feeling of hatred against the English. The war was marked in its course by private plunder, rape and debauchery, as may be seen in the histories of it by the actors; Howqua remarked, the British troops were so beastly libidinous that they made no distinction between the old woman of eighty and the tender maiden of fourteen. Even now the English seem to be dreaded by the Chinese on account of their women.

The deportment of the English especially, towards the Chinese is noticeable to one on his arrival at Canton. They are neither respectful nor considerate in their manners; generally, haughty or overbearing in deportment and their whole bearing tends to excite

* The Middle Kingdom.

* The Middle Kingdom.

dislike and fix the prejudices of the Chinese against them. Mr. Williams says that the "coarse remarks, rude actions, and general supercilious conduct towards the natives" by some foreigners who visit China, "ill comport with their superior civilization and advantages. One who looked at the matter reasonably would not expect much true politeness among a people whose conceit and ignorance, selfishness and hauteur, were nearly equal; nor be surprised to find the intercourse between the extremes of society present a strange mixture of brutality and commiseration, formality and disdain."*

Arrogance, self-conceit, haughtiness and selfishness are not less prominent in the character of the British than in that of the Chinese as people; and, phrenologists would infer, therefore, that kindliness is not likely to increase between them.

In "The China Mail" for August 3d, 1848, there are some remarks on the condition of the jail of Hong-Kong, which indicate the tone of bearing of some of her Majesty's officers towards the Chinese. "The then Acting Chief Justice," says the editor, "not satisfied with pronouncing sentence on the unfortunates brought before his own tribunal, took upon himself to issue peremptory mandates within the precincts of the gaol. Amongst other things he would order the Chinese not only to have their tails cut off [an irrecoverable disgrace in the eyes of a Chinaman,] but to have their crowns shaven, so as effectually to prevent their attaching a false cue, and thus making felons and men confined for slight crimes equally outcasts for life. This being in direct opposition to the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, His Excellency [the Governor of Hong Kong] ordered it to be discontinued forthwith, and expressed no little astonishment on learning that it had been done by orders from Acting Chief Justice Campbell."

The editor further states that a Mr. Holdforth fills two offices; that of assistant magistrate, who is *ex officio* visiter of the gaol, and Sheriff. The editor asks whether it is "justifiable on the part of the latter, of his own authority and for his pecuniary advantage, to allow debtors to go out when and where they liked, in custody of an officer, upon payment of a certain fee, so much per hour or per day, upon the ground simply that the prisoner being committed to his charge, he could of his own accord grant them any indulgence he pleased. Such reasoning is worthy of the practice it would support; * * * * * * whilst at the same time it affords another proof of the great convenience of combining two otherwise incompatible offices—the assistant magistrate, who is visiter of the gaol, being certain not to complain of the Sheriff for making his office a profitable one." As magistrate he anomalously commits men to his own custody as Sheriff; and employs convicts to perform coolies' work for himself.

The hostile feelings engendered and kept up by the manners and acts of some individuals, such as alluded to, are probably the remote origin of such tragedies as that enacted at Hwang-Chu-Kee in December 1848, when six Englishmen were murdered.*

* The Middle Kingdom.

* THE LATE RIOT IN CHINA.

We find in the New York papers further particulars of the late riot in China, which resulted in the massacre of six Englishmen by the inhabitants of some of the Chinese villages near Canton. The persons killed are represented to have been English merchants.

The occurrence had produced much excitement at Canton. As soon as it was made known to KEYING, the Chinese Imperial Commissioner, he issued a proclamation calling upon his people to ferret out and surrender the murderers. He also addressed a communication to Sir JOHN DAVIS, the British Governor, apprizing him of his proceedings, and that he had dispatched the Prefect of Canton with the district military, to order the gentry all around to assemble to investigate what had really become of the six Englishmen, and with all haste to find out and seize the culprits, and punish them according to the extreme penalty of the law. "These villians (he says) act with total disregard of the regulations and create disturbance. Should they not submit, soldiers will instantly be appointed to surround them and apprehend them, and not one individual shall escape. Thus the national laws will be vindicated, and the hearts of men will rejoice. The honorable envoy need not entertain any anxiety on this point."

Sir JOHN DAVIS had arrived at Canton from Hong Kong, with an armed force, for the purpose of demanding satisfaction. He at first resolved to burn several villages from which he was deterred by the insufficiency of his force. He then forwarded his commands to the Chinese Commissioner KEYING, but did not expect a favorable answer, or one that his Government would be satisfied with. The impression at Canton was that the place would be blockaded.

The "Friend of China," an English paper, gives the subjoined particulars of the excursion and collision which resulted so fatally to six of its countrymen:

From the Friend of China of December 11.

We regret to say that since our last issue all doubts as to the dreadful tragedy at Fa-tee have been completely

The influence of the teachings of the various Christian Missionaries in China must be very much lessened by the examples of deportment and conduct of men, supposed to be Christians, as sketched in the China Mail:

"The art of working moral reformation is not easy in itself; and, when attempted, it is too often counteracted by the very engines which are employed to carry it into effect. It is the example, not the injunctive precept of those who are in high official stations, that operates on the moral character of nations; and, as man is an animal of imitation who

dispelled. Six of our countrymen, Messrs. Rutter, Brown, Small, Bellamy, Balkwill and McCart, have been barbarously murdered by the savages, whose threats have been neglected both by their own authorities and by the British Plenipotentiary. A more cold blooded murder does not disgrace the history of barbarism; and a fearful penalty will be required from those who are its immediate perpetrators, and from others whose obstinate perversity in error permitted such an atrocity.

The particulars are only known from the Chinese connected with foreign trade, and with slight variations their story is the same: and their detestation of the deed is expressed in strong language.

On the afternoon of Sunday, the 5th, the party above named left the factories in a Hong boat, intending to proceed a short way up the river and then land for a walk, returning in time for dinner. They did not come back, and on Monday there was much excitement and great alarm for their safety. A party was immediately formed to go in search of them; they returned in the evening, having ascertained that their missing friends landed near some villages on the Fa-tee creek, and that there had been a disturbance. One of the boatmen also come back on the evening of the 6th. He reported that after the foreigners had landed, gongs were beat at the different villages, and a disturbance ensued, but of the fate of his passengers he was totally ignorant. An attempt was also made to capture the Hong boat, though she escaped up the river after being a good deal battered with stones.

On the 7th the Hong boat returned: her crew could give no further information. On board were two pistol-cases, with the powder-flasks, &c.; but the pistols had been taken on shore. It was now reported by respectable Chinese that, on landing, the villagers surrounded their victims, a strong party intercepting their retreat to the boat. An attack was made with stones, and a gentleman being struck on the mouth and severely injured, drew a pistol and shot one of the assailants. More shots were fired, and it is said that from three to five Chinese were killed. Two of the foreigners were murdered at this place; it is supposed the two who were armed. The others fled inland, and were hunted from village to village until they were all destroyed. Another report says they took refuge in a Joss house, and were taken out and deliberately decapitated.

A strong desire was evinced by a portion of the community to proceed to the villages, armed, and demand their countrymen, dead or alive. The Consul, however, interposed his official authority, in a circular dated the 6th, and sent round on the 7th.

An express intimating the sad event arrived at Hong Kong on the 7th, and her Majesty's steam frigate Vulture was dispatched for Whampoa that afternoon. The following morning Captain McDougall landed at the British Consulate with about one hundred men, marines and seamen. It was that officer's intention to proceed to the villages and burn them down; but, after a consultation with her Majesty's Consul, the movement was stopped, at least until the Chinese authorities had shown what steps they intended to take in the matter.

Captain McDougall left his party at the factories as a guard lest the mob should make an attack, and returned to Hong Kong for troops. He arrived on the morning of the 9th, having communicated with Sir John Davis on board the Dædalus on his way up the river. After embarking a company of her Majesty's 95th regiment, the Vulture again sailed at half past one P. M.: on the way up she was to receive Sir John Davis, from the Dædalus. His Excellency would reach Canton on the morning of the 10th, and we wait with some anxiety to hear what steps he takes.

From Keying's despatch to Sir John Davis it will be observed that he does not attempt to screen the perpetrators of the crime, or throw the responsibility upon their victims. That some disastrous event would follow the withdrawal of the Pluto has been the common opinion. The villagers gave notice of their intention by public placards, translations of which have appeared at different times in the Hong Kong papers. The latest we extract from the *Register* of the 30th ultimo:

"Since our (city of) Canton has had commercial intercourse with foreigners, all and each of us have enjoyed peace. Though, from the number of the foreigners who come in their boats for fresh water, it happened that if any of them sailed into the inner river it was merely to get water, and they returned immediately, without causing the least injury or molestation. But lately there have been some traitorous Chinese who were so bold as to presume to lead the devils and introduce them into the various villages and hamlets, in a disorderly manner, behaving without fear. They began with fishing and fowling, but afterwards came to take by force and steal vegetables and fruits, to cut trees, and to wound with their muskets boys and girls, to abuse and injure women, to get themselves drunk and act disorderly, going in this way to all lengths of wickedness, which is in the highest degree detestable. (To prevent it) now at the various districts and villages, brave and strong militia have been collected and trained. Should any traitorous Chinese dare again to bring the devils into the villages to cause mischief, notice will be given by the villagers with their gongs, and answer made in the same way by the people of the adjoining places; and so, from the nearest to the farthest, all the brave militia shall at once be brought forward and divided into two parties; one to intercept the road by which they (the devils) might return, and another to chase and beat them to death. It is necessary to kill all the native traitors and (foreign) devils ere we stop. Therefore this notice is now specially published in several places for general information and self-defence.

"Attentively written by the scholars:
"Posted up at Tin-po village."

The imperfect account of what took place on the 5th shows how truly the diabolical plan of destroying foreigners was carried into effect. In each village a band of militia is organized; they turn out at the alarm of the gong, divide into parties, one to cut off a retreat, the other to hunt the foreigners to death. All this was enacted a few days ago, and will be again unless an awful example is made.

endeavors to imitate what is higher than himself, it would be extravagant to expect that he should be frugal, chaste, and just in principle, while his master is prodigal, profligate and usurping. It is customary with men in power, and those who are ranked in what are called the higher classes of society, to declaim at the vices and bad habits of the vulgar people, without being aware perhaps that in doing so they censure themselves. The conduct of government is a moral mirror to the nation; and, if the history of mankind be examined without prejudice, the mass of the people will be found to be imitators of its acts, whether in virtue or in vice. The vices may be disguised; but the radical principle obtains throughout, and influences the general act."*

It is quite clear that the British government will not prevent, by enactment, the cultivation of the poppy in her Eastern possessions. The manufacture is profitable, and will continue to be, as long as it is consumed largely in China. Then why should England deprive herself and a portion of her subjects of the advantages of a lucrative trade?

Kidnapping, directly or indirectly, the inhabitants of Africa, transporting them to distant countries and selling them as slaves was long regarded by the English as a source of legitimate profit. To the favorable opinion of the African slave trade entertained in England at one time, we are indebted to the existence of our "peculiar institution" in the United States. It is remarkable that when it was regarded as merciful to commute the death penalty for murder, felony, &c. to limited slavery in "the plantations;" that is, while this limited slavery was regarded as the next worst punishment to death. Even now deportation for a distant colony is considered a punishment for the greater offences. "Compulsory removal from the place we are accustomed to and know thoroughly, to one which is wholly unknown is always looked upon with much dread. Hold out removal from this country as a punishment, with nothing to soften the pang of separation from all the associations of childhood, it would be difficult to invent any penalty to all appearance more frightful."*

It was not considered unjust or inhuman to sentence innocent Africans to perpetual slavery in the same fields and climes with her convicts, who were afforded opportunities of settling as free colonists, after having expiated their crimes by labor for a term of years.

Besides the gross wrong it inflicted on a portion of the human race, the cruelty of those who conducted it, made and makes the slave trade horrible to the mind of every rightly thinking Christian: and to the influence of Christianity may be attributed all the opposition it has met at different times. Public opinion in England as well as in the U. States determined the slave trade to be morally, if not religiously, wrong, and efforts have been made to abolish it, but without entire success. It will continue as long as it is profitable, in spite of all opposition; or until Africans become united, and strong enough to resist the force brought to enslave them. And who shall say that Christianity may not accomplish this for Africa?

The mind revolts at the idea of a strong man robbing a child; the act of enslaving Africans, who are as feeble as children in intelligence, is equally shocking to men of truly generous and chivalric sentiment. Bandits and pirates win admiration often by exhibitions of personal courage or generous forbearance; but the assassin and slaver exhibit no such traits; their acts are associated with cowardice and stealth, and are held universally in abhorence. Nothing short of the *infama fames auri*—unholy thirst of gain—could induce one to be a slaver.

Why is it wrong to deal in Opium? or rather why is it regarded by many as infamous to sell opium to the Chinese?

Many may be content to answer, simply, because its use is injurious to the people! But this is not a sufficient reason; the Turks consume opium largely, without provoking interference of those who are satisfied that it is injurious both morally and physically? A very respectable part of the population of the United States believe the use of intoxicating drinks, all fermented or distilled liquors, is physically and morally injurious;

* Jackson—Formation and Discipline of Armies.

* Criminal Law—Small Books on Great Subjects.

but this opinion does not make it infamy for Frenchmen and Spaniards to sell to us their brandies and wines: nor does it constitute a sufficient reason why vineyards should be up-rooted and distilleries destroyed, both at home and abroad, and the vine-dressers and distillers socially excommunicated. The use of tobacco in all its forms is, in the opinion of a number of clergymen, physicians and others, pernicious to man's interests;* but this opinion, admitting it to be correct, cannot be regarded as a sufficient reason to warrant Europeans in charging the government of the United States with inflicting a wrong, an injury on them by encouraging the growth and exportation of tobacco! Tea and coffee have been denounced by many respectable medical men as slow poisons; but who has yet thought those who cultivate tea and coffee or consume them commit sin? The writings of Voltaire, Jean Jacques Rousseau of the past century, and of Paul de Kock, George Sand, Eugene Sue, Bulwer and others of similar morals and philosophy of the present day, are regarded as injurious to the interests of society by some of the best minds in our country; but these men cannot be deprived, therefore, of access to pen and ink, by authority of the governments under which they respectively live? Lastly, gunpowder is manufactured because it is a destructive agent, used to kill our fellowmen; but the manufacturers of it are not to be charged therefore as being accessories to all the murders, deaths and crimes perpetrated through the agency of gunpowder!

Smugglers may urge in defence of their pursuits that laws are not binding where the power is wanting to enforce them: a port cannot be considered under blockade by the simple declaration of the enemy, without the presence of a force to prevent the entrance of vessels. If China enacts laws of which she cannot enforce the observance by her own population, it is her misfortune; and foreigners are not culpable in deriving all the profit they can from the chances which China throws in their way.

It is not then, because the habitual use of opium is prejudicial to health and morals, that it is infamous for the English to furnish the article to the Chinese? According to our notions, social laws cannot restrain men from doing anything which is not injurious to the property or persons of others. A man may be drunk, provided he remain quietly in his own house, without doing violence to social law. But according to the edicts of the Chinese Emperor the use of the opium-pipe and dealing in opium are criminal offences; and were made so under the benevolent belief that he might thus save his people from much misery and unhappiness. Nevertheless, although we may approve of the motive which suggested them, these edicts are tyrannical and oppressive, and are calculated, sooner or later, to provoke resistance: if a law were enacted in England or the United States prohibiting the use of wine or beer on the penalty of death, the government would be overturned. Still, as long as the Chinese law prohibits the introduction of opium into the country and forbids its use on pain of death, no matter whether the law be right or wrong, although not criminal or infamous, it is certainly not very honorable for foreigners to furnish a seductive means of pleasure at the peril of lives of Chinese, while they themselves stand aloof and incur no risk. It is not much extenuation to urge that the Chinese are not *forced;* they *willingly* buy the drug and commit the crime. As the people of China are satisfied with the laws under which they live, no foreign nation has a moral right to interfere in the internal policy of their empire. Foreigners who visit its shores are bound, or should be, by the principles of morality at least, to respect the laws. It is not the less a moral wrong on the part of foreigners who smuggle in and out of China through the influence of bribery or force, because the Government of China is not strong enough to enforce the observance of its own revenue laws. On the same basis of reasoning, robbery and theft might be justified by arguing that, inasmuch as neither the bars, nor bolts, nor strength of the man was sufficient to protect his property, they had a right to take—if he wished to keep his money, why did'nt he prevent us from taking it? Surely, might makes right. Although England declared, in accordance

* See "The Mysteries of Tobacco," and "Responses on the Use of Tobacco," by the Rev. Benjamin Ingersol Lane. New York: 1846.

with this view, that British subjects could not be protected in infractions of the laws of China, and must suffer the consequences of failure in their attempts to smuggle, still she did virtually sustain her smugglers, under the pretext of avenging insults, by requiring payment for the opium confiscated and destroyed at the Bogue: a giant *can* plunder a dwarf, and, if he does, is entitled to the honor of his act in every point of view. Besides, in the opinion of many, the habitual use of opium is no more to be deprecated than that of ardent spirits, and if it were, the Chinese must solve the question by their own experience, and not expect foreigners, practical men, to forego advantages, give up a lucrative business in consideration of abstract speculations on doubted points of morality, discussed by enthusiasts who have no interest in the matter, except that growing out of pride of opinion. When the people of China are convinced that opium smoking is the evil which foreigners represent it to be, they will abandon the practice, and establish anti-narcotic clubs in imitation of temperance societies in the West, and repress the vice without the aid of government or private interference of foreign propagandists.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Piracies; A Fast Boat; Voyage to Macao; Chinese Life afloat; Hot Coppers; Effects of Typhoon; Salvage; Right of the Navy to claim and receive Salvage; Character of the Chinese, according to foreign writers; Education; Filial Piety; Beggars; Charity; Marriage; Politeness; Gambling; Duels; Decency; Gratitude; Mendacity; Howqua's word, contrasted with that of a Foreign Merchant; Mode of Business at Canton; Integrity; Benevolent Institutions; Self-esteem; Chinese Opinion of the English; Character of the English Peasant, by a Native; A Preface in Conclusion.

At daylight on the 30th September, (the ship then lying off Tiger Island in Pearl or Canton river,) I came on deck. A Chinese pilot boat or small "fast boat," commanded by Ashing, a pilot, (whom I found on our quarter deck awaiting me,) was riding at anchor a few yards astern, prepared to sail for Macao. Ashing suggested that, inasmuch as piracies had recently been very frequent, it would be well to provide ourselves with a couple of carbines and ammunition for defence on our voyage. Between Macao and Whampoa several passenger boats had been robbed within the past six weeks. At Canton I saw two men who had been severely wounded, by shooting, in a conflict with pirates which took place only about sixteen miles above the city. One of those poor Chinamen died about an hour after I saw him, at Dr. Parker's hospital: from the back of the other an iron ball was extracted; it was about an inch in diameter, and had rough projections on opposite sides, indicating that several balls had been cast in a series and afterwards broken apart. The recollection of those poor fellows gave force to Ashing's suggestion, and we armed ourselves accordingly; and all preparations completed, we boarded our little ship and set sail about six o'clock A. M., the tide at half ebb.

Ashing's floating domicil is about forty-five feet in length; her greatest breadth of

beam, which is abaft the mainmast, is about ten feet. Transverse water-tight partitions divide the hull into five separate compartments, the floor of which is about two and a half feet below the deck. The sternmost of these divisions accommodates the kitchen or culinary department which, when not in use, is covered by a flush hatch. A semicircular hood or deck covers the central compartment, which is the cabin; it is the largest and is immediately abaft the mainmast. Between the cabin and kitchen is a third compartment which Mrs. Ashing makes answer all the purposes of chamber, dressing room and nursery; and in it she passes all time not spent at the oar or in cooking, engaged in the various duties of her ship-hold, or, if you please, household. The two forward divisions of the vessel contain spare rope, tackle, &c. Cleanliness is every where remarkable.

Between the cabin trunk or hood, and the high taffrail, the bulwarks are made of bamboos, which enclose a kind of quarter deck. The rig of the little vessel is according to the Chinese fashion. She has two masts with mat sails, which are kept expanded by bamboo spriets, inserted horizontally into each sail about two feet apart, and as there is a sheet or bowline at the end of each spriet, the rigging appears to be complicated. The foremast stands well forward in the bows, and answers the purpose of bowsprit in vessels of American or European rig. A small American ensign is displayed from a staff set upon the stern, showing that, for the time, the craft sails under the protection of the United States.

Besides Ashing, the crew consisted of five men, Mrs. Ashing and her three children, the eldest being five years old, and the youngest eighteen months. When we pushed off from the ship it was nearly calm, and for this reason the men put out their oars, and Mrs. Ashing, with the infant strapped upon her back, managed the steering oar and rudder. The children were active, running about in all parts of the vessel; but the parents manifested no anxiety for their safety. When the infant was permitted to run or crawl about the deck, a large piece of cork was tied to its back, to serve as buoy or life-preserver, in the event of tumbling overboard. Ashing was affectionately proud of his family, and boasted a little that he had "two piece bull chilo, one piece cow chilo, and one piece wifo." Entire harmony prevailed in this floating family; all seemed to work cheerfully, the woman performing a full share of nautical labor, besides discharging her matronly duties.

This vessel and crew were chartered at the rate of thirty dollars a month, and a ration daily for each adult; that is seven adults, with the, vessel served us for a dollar a day, or about fourteen cents each.

On crawling into the cabin we were delighted to find its floor covered with new matting. The carbines and powder flask were arranged on one side, and bamboo pillows and a painted lanthern furnished the other. A tiny bird-cage, about five inches square was suspended at one end; its occupant, a diminutive sparrow, was a general favorite, and received full attention. Poor thing; it deserved sympathy, for it might have enjoyed almost as much freedom to fly had it never emerged from its shell. At the sternmost end of the cabin, a small door communicated with a little temple or Joss-house, which, from its general arrangements, might have been mistaken for a child's play-house or display of dolls and toys.

About ten o'clock A. M. the flood tide met us, and the vessel was anchored. Mat awnings were spread as a protection against the sun; and then the carbines were brought on deck and deliberately prepared for action. This military duty performed, the kitchen hatch was removed and revealed two earthen furnaces, surmounted by round shallow iron pans about two feet in diameter. Lettuce, previously well washed was placed in one and partly covered with water. A shallow wooden tub was turned over it. Well washed rice was placed in the other with very little water. Over this was placed a bamboo grating upon which were set plates of fish, cut in pieces an inch or two square, mingled with onions and shreds of lettuce. The whole was covered by an inverted tub, and then the fires in the furnaces were made to burn briskly by blowing through a bamboo tube. At the expiration of twenty minutes the tubs were removed, and brought to view a very savory preparation to appease the ap-

petites of the Chinese company. The rice was served in a basket of the capacity of a peck, and the boiled lettuce in bowls. The fires were extinguished by holding the burning brands under water, and then the kitchen hatch was replaced. The food was set on the deck with a supply of bowls and chopsticks. The party gathered round in a circle, each one squatted on his heels, and deliberately began the seemingly grateful task of contributing something towards the preservation of the individual. The bowls were filled with rice; some added a little of the water in which the lettuce had been boiled by way of sauce, and all partook of the lettuce. The fish was raised to the mouth by compressing it betwixt the ends of two chop sticks. The same implements, both held in one hand parallel to each other, very much after our manner of holding a pen, were used to shovel rice into the wide open mouth from the bowl, the edge of which was pressed against the nether lip. The meal was concluded by tea, which was taken without milk or sugar, and in very moderate quantities. All joined in washing and putting away the dishes, and after this work was accomplished, the men took pipes or paper-wrapped cigars, one of the last being enjoyed by the boy, not more than five years old. But it is to be borne in mind that Chinese tobacco possesses nicotin, the active principle of the weed, in very small proportion; a pound of Kentucky or Virginia tobacco leaves would probably yield as much of nicotin as a hundred pounds of the China grown plant, and then the bowl of a Chinese pipe has not as much capacity as a lady's thimble. The pipes having been emptied, the men arranged their bamboo pillows on deck in the shade, stretched themselves at full length and went to sleep, while Mrs. Ashing screened off from the rest of us, sat on the quarter deck sewing, with her children about her feet. She was not blessed with feet of aristocratic smallness, according to Chinese taste. The boat was now in repose; silence reigned. The day was hot, in spite of a very gentle breeze. The scenery about us was picturesque. The land bordering upon the river is low and flat; but mountains of from one to three thousand feet or more in height form the back ground.

About half past two o'clock P. M. the stillness on board was broken by preparation to move on our course. By three o'clock, the tide being strongly ebb, our wooden anchor was lifted to the bows, and we began to beat against a fresh breeze.

Towards the close of the day we passed through a narrow part of the river called the Bogue, which is defended by no less than eight forts. The Chinese once supposed this pass to be impregnable, but the whole of their fine fortesses were taken from them in a single day by the English, in a dozen vessels of war, in the year 1842. On that occasion, however, the Chinese were panic-struck early in the day; their admiral being killed in the fight, they deserted their batteries.

We were not alone on these waters. An European ship, and hundreds of Chinese craft were in sight, steering in various and opposite directions, to and from Canton.

About sunset our little temple of Joss was illuminated, and a plentiful repast of sugar-cakes and fruit spread before his altar. The eldest son of Ashing, by direction of his mother, lighted a bundle of brown paper at the sacred lamp, and stood upon the taffrail holding it in his hand until the flaming offering was consumed. It is a cheap sacrifice; nevertheless, it is a sacrifice and an act of religious worship of deity. When the ceremony was ended, the work of the kitchen was begun. I was glad to partake of a bowl of rice and some tea, with the rest, because ants and cockroaches had invaded and spoiled the contents of my provision basket. At half past nine o'clock P. M. we were met by the tide, and again anchored. The night was sultry, in spite of a fresh breeze from the southward.

Sunday, Oct. 1.—At three o'clock P. M., I was wakened by the bustle of getting up the anchor and making sail, and for an instant was startled by contention with people evidently not of our boat, because the idea of pirates flashed over me, but a moment's thought satisfied me that other sounds than of angry words would have announced hostile intention. On emerging from my place on the bare cabin mat, I found it was merely a noisy dispute with some fishermen about the price of a fish. The wind had changed,

and though very light was fair. At seven o'clock I was supplied with a good breakfast of tea, rice and fried fish; and at ten I landed at Macao, in the inner harbor, very much fatgued by sleeping on boards, and by exposure to the hot sun during the morning.

These notes are sufficient to indicate the nature of Chinese life in a "fast-boat."

During the three weeks spent at Macao on this occasion I enjoyed the generous hospitality which is characteristic of its foreign residents. Dinner and evening parties were frequent.

Beggars are very numerous in this town, and annoying often by their importunity One day a crowd of them had gathered about our door, and amused us by scrambling for "cash"—a small coin of which 1400 are equal to a dollar—thrown amongst them from the second story windows. The sport to us was increased by the simple expedient of heating these "cash" over the fire, and tossing them into the street, almost red hot. When picked up, being too hot to hold they were instantly dropped, to be again seized by another of the scramblers, who also instantly relinquished the prize, to be grabbed by some other unsuspecting beggar, until, by passing through many hands in succession they became too cool to "burn in the pocket." Even those whose fingers were made to smart seemed to enjoy the sport; I am sure no one was seriously burned, and no one retired poorer than he came.

About the middle of the month of August the U. S. ship Plymouth anchored in the road-stead at Cumsing-moon, to remain during the hurricane season. On the 31st it commenced to blow freshly from the northward and eastward, and by ten o'clock P. M. the wind had increased to a very heavy typhoon, and continued to blow with increasing violence until daylight of the 1st September. It was then discovered that of twelve European and American vessels in the roads four were dismasted, one had foundered at her anchors, and the English brig Arrow and barque Emily had dragged on shore. Besides these, many Chinese vessels were lost, and numbers of persons were holding fast to fragments of wrecks tossed about on the sea.

As soon as boats could be risked, they were manned by volunteers from the Plymouth, by order of Commander Godney, and sent to rescue the drowning, and succeeded in saving some thirty persons, amongst whom were a woman and three children. Attention was then directed to the wrecked vessels, and such aid as was required was freely given to them.

The brig Arrow was stranded very near to the shore, and by six o'clock P. M., between three and four thousand Chinese had assembled, it was presumed, for the purpose of plundering the vessel, which was known to contain a cargo of opium, said to be worth $600,000. Had not the Plymouth been present and rendered assistance, all this property would have been lost, and probably the officers and crew of the Arrow would have been murdered. The cargo was transferred to the Plymouth, and the brig got afloat by the exertions of the officers and crew, under the general directions of Commander Godney.

For these services, as is usual in such cases, salvage, that is, a portion of the property rescued, was claimed.

Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., the owners of the vessel and cargo saved, objected to the claim for salvage, that officers of the Navy of the United States cannot accept remuneration for assisting vessels in distress or derelict without infringing the rules of the naval service.

Such an objection implies that vessels in distress or derelict of whatever nation are entitled to the assistance of officers and privates of the Navy of the United States, under all circumstances, and not to render such assistance is to be negligent of their duty. There is no law which imposes upon those of the naval service an obligation, to save property exposed to loss by wreck, without such remuneration as is commonly paid to citizens under equal circumstances; but like other gallant men, they are ever ready to peril themselves to rescue the lives of those of their fellow beings who may be exposed to danger from shipwreck, without hope of other reward than self-approbation.

The right of officers and men of the Navy to claim salvage is based on the common law, and on the act, approved March 3rd, 1800, entitled "An act providing for salvage

in cases of recapture." This act provides that unarmed vessels or goods recaptured by any of the public armed vessels of the United States shall pay, in lieu of salvage, one-eighth part of the value thereof, and armed vessels recaptured are to pay one-fourth part of the value thereof, &c.; and this act further provides that moneys received for salvage shall be divided among officers and men in the same proportion as prize money.

The fifth section of an act approved April 23, 1800, and entitled "An act for the better government of the Navy of the United States," provides that all vessels and goods lawfully taken from an enemy shall be the property of the captors entirely or in part, according to circumstances of the capture. The distribution of prize-money is provided for in the sixth section of the same act.

The statutes, therefore, provide specifically that officers and privates of all grades in the Navy of the United States shall receive, as a reward and stimulant to exertion, the entire value of all vessels of superior force they may recapture; and one-half the value of those of inferior force. American vessels saved or rescued from the possession of a hostile military force are regarded as recaptures; and the captors are entitled, according to circumstances, to either one-fourth or at least one-eighth of their value.

It is clear that specific rates of salvage are established by law, for rescuing property from military jeopardy by military means. As there is no law which excludes officers and men in the naval service from the rights and privileges enjoyed by their fellow-citizens, it is equally clear that they are entitled to claim and receive salvage, in cases of rescue from the perils of the sea, under the laws and usages which govern the award of salvage to officers and men of private or unarmed ships of the United States.

The navy is maintained for the protection of commerce, both in peace and in war; but it is not to be supposed for such reason, that those employed in the navy are bound, at any hazard whatever, to assist merchant vessels without remuneration, merely for the purpose of saving expense to their owners. It is clearly not among the obligations of the government of the United States to furnish anchors, cables or whatever may be required to save merchant vessels from shipwreck; or to supply spars and rigging and means of repair when damaged in storms, free of cost. Nor can it be shown that those of the naval service are bound to hazard life, or exert their mental and physical energies to protect owners of merchant-ships against pecuniary losses occasioned by shipwreck.

The rules observed by the navy of England on this point are applicable to the navy of the United States:

"But although by the law of England, there is an obligation upon King's ships to assist the merchant vessels of this country, still a King's ship may be entitled to an adequate reward for services performed by her.

"In the case of the *Lustre*, Finlay, value £1100, to the assistance of which, on the application of her owners, his Majesty's steamer *Dee* had been despatched by order of the Admiral at Portsmouth, upon the express stipulation and condition that the owners and underwriters would be answerable for the stores expended or damaged—it was alleged that this stipulation barred the officers and men from all claim to salvage. Sir John Nichol said, 'It is a mistake to suppose that the public force of the country is to be employed gratuitously in the service of private individuals, merely to save them from expense. These government steam vessels are kept for the public service, and the officers in command cannot employ them in the service of individuals, and thus risk the public property, without authority, or an indemnity for all expense and damage. Here there was a stipulation given by the Admiral at Portsmouth upon allowing the *Dee* to be so employed; but it has nothing to do with a reward for personal service; it was never so intended, and cannot on principle be so maintained. There might in the service have been a great exposure of life, and there was much of risk and labor. Why are officers and crews to hazard their lives or undergo labor to save the owners of merchant ships from the expense of hiring private steamers or resorting to other means? I am clearly of opinion that officers and men so employed, and who perform essential service, are entitled to reward as much as in the case of recapture. In that description

of cases, they receive less than the law gives to privateers; so here, the condition to reimburse all expenses in case of damage, is a reason for a less reward than when a steamer goes out on private risk and enterprize; the only question is the quantum: £100 is as little as I can give and the expenses.'

"In a subsequent case of salvage by a government steamer and two hundred men, it appeared that the *Ewell Grove* was in extreme danger on a shoal off Jamaica, where she had been for three days, when signals of distress brought the steamer to her assistance. In about eight hours afterwards, the *Ewell Grove* was moored in safety, and the next morning towed into Carlisle Bay. The court, on the value of £6000 gave £1200, and costs.

"And in the case of the Wilsons, Sir Stephen Lushington decreed that for personal risk and labor encountered in a salvage service, the officers and crews of King's ships were entitled to remuneration upon the same footing as other salvors.

"It is also a settled doctrine of the Court of Admiralty that no pilot is bound to go on board of a vessel in distress to render pilot service, for mere pilotage reward. If a pilot, being told he would receive pilotage only, refused to take charge of a vessel in that condition, he would be subjected to no censure, and if he did take charge of her he would be entitled to a salvage remuneration."*

The question whether officers and privates of a navy have a right to remuneration for salvage services is so interesting that I deem it proper to add to the above the following statements and opinions, which are enough to satisfy, even Messrs. Jardine & Co.

Brooklyn, (N. Y.) Sept. 25, 1849.

Sir: Having observed in the public prints that Mr. Poussin the French Minister was very much shocked that Commander Carpender should have claimed salvage for getting a French vessel off the reef near Vera Cruz, after she had been abandoned by her commander, I take the liberty to inform the Department that, in the early part of 1830, I was attached to the United States sloop-of-war Peacock, and while lying at the island of Sacrificios, near Vera Cruz, in company with the French corvette Ceres and English brig-of-war Fairy, at daylight one morning we discovered a vessel on one of the reefs off that port with a signal of distress flying. Boats were immediately dispatched from the three vessels to render assistance. On arriving at the vessel, she proved to be the English brig Ant, from London bound to Vera Cruz. After using every exertion, we could not succeed in getting her off. The captain of the brig seeing that it was a hopeless case, abandoned her, and requested that we should save the cargo, if possible. We commenced the work, and labored for three or four days. The officers and men, with the boats from the French corvette, saved goods to the amount of $19,000; those from the English brig, $23,000; and those from the Peacock, over $100,000. We all received salvage, at the rate of 33 1 3 per cent., awarded by the court at Vera Cruz.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. H. STRINGHAM,
Captain U. S. Navy.

Hon. Wm. Ballard Preston,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

About two years ago the brig *Active*, of Baltimore, on her passage from Brazil to the river Plata, run on a bank, and was rescued by a French vessel of war, and carried into Montevido. Salvage to the amount of one-third of the value was demanded and received by the French cruiser.

Salvors have a lien on the property saved, and have a right to detain it till their compensation is paid.—2 W. Rob. 306, Smith's Merc. Law, 291, Abbot, 556.

In 1813, the British ship of war *Andromache* was allowed 1-24 of the ship *Louisa* and cargo, for towing her into port, being dismasted and otherwise in a distressed condition. This was in addition to a military salvage of *one-eighth* allowed to the same parties; and is referred to only as an early case of civil salvage allowed to a national vessel.

In 1823, the British sloop-of-war *Arad*, cruising for smugglers, fell in with and rendered valuable assistance to the ship *Mary Ann*, in great distress near the rocks, with a valuable cargo, and the officers and men of the *Arad* took her into a harbor and claimed salvage. It was objected that she was a national vessel and bound to assist. The salvors, however, were awarded by the Court of Admiralty one-tenth of the ship's cargo and freight.—1 Hag. 158.

The British ship-of-war *Dryad* was awarded £1,000 for services rendered to the *Poacher*, worth £53,000.—1 Dod. 317.

A brig got ashore on a shoal off Tenedos, and was towed off by a King's steamer. The owners of the ship offered £100 for the salvage of the *ship*. The owners of the *cargo* contended that the crew of a Queen's ship were not entitled to claim a reward for so slight a service. The Court decreed for the plaintiffs £100 for the ship and in the same proportion for the cargo.—Brit. Dig. 385.

A King's ship, the *Cygnet*, on the coast of Africa, met a merchant vessel, the master and part of the crew sick, and the mate incompetent to navigate her. The *Cygnet* was bound to Prince Edward's Island, and the commander put four men on board the merchantmant, kept company with her, and occasionally took her in tow, till they got to Prince Edward's Island. He then allowed two men and a sailing-master to ship in her on wages and take her to England. She was worth £1,300, and the Court held that the commander was entitled to obtain

* Abbott on Shipping—A Treatise on the law relative to Merchant Ships and Seamen. In five parts. By Chas. Lord Tenterden, Late Chief Justice of England. The Seventh English Edition. By William Shee, Sergeant at Law. The Fifth American Edition, with the Notes of Mr. Justice Story, and additional armotations. By J. C. Perkins, Esq. Boston. 1846.

salvage on behalf of himself, his officers, and crew in respect of such service, and decreed £150. Prich. Dig. 385.

The ship-of-war *Thetis*, in 1833, sailed from Rio Janeiro with £810,000 of treasure, being private property. The day after sailing she struck on the coast of Brazil and sunk. The Admiral of the station and Captain Dickinson and the officers and crew of the ship of war Lightning and other vessels of war, with great exertions saved £157,000 sterling. They were awarded £17,000 salvage, which on appeal was increased to £29,000, and approved by the King in council.—(3 Hag. 14.)

In 1837, Lieutenant Roberts, with two boats and ten men of the Royal Coast Guard, rendered very effective services in saving the Helene, a foreign vessel. The amount awarded was £200 salvage, one-half of it to Lt. Roberts.—(3 Hag. 430.)

The Attorney General to Mr. Clayton.

Attorney General's Office,
June 20, 1849.

Sir: In compliance with the request of your note of the 11th instant, I proceed to give you a more formal opinion than I have heretofore done upon the question some time since submitted to this office, in the case of the salvage claim, at one time made by Captain Carpender, of the United States steamer Iris, in behalf of himself, officers and crew, for saving the French ship Eugenie, off Vera Cruz, whilst on the rock of El Riso, near the anchorage of Anton Lizardo, in 1848.

I do not understand that it is denied that the service rendered entitled the parties rendering it to salvage, except upon the ground that themselves and their vessel constituted a portion of the naval marine of the United States. Nor could such a denial have been made. The property saved was in the most imminent peril, and its destruction certain, but for the aid of Captain Carpender and his men. It had every element of a salvage case, and, upon general principles, independent of the official character of the salvors, their title to such an allowance would have been perfectly clear. The single objection then to the claim was, and is, that they were a part of the naval marine of the United States. Is this a valid objection? I think not; and I propose to examine it briefly, first upon authority, and second, upon principle.

Unless there be, upon some ground of reciprocity, a different rule upon this subject, in relation to French vessels and property rescued from danger, under circumstances entitling to salvage, than exists in relation to American and other vessels and property, it will be found, upon authority, to be a perfectly plain question.

How is the law in England? Does there exist there any distinction between salvage service rendered by a public and private vessel, or to a domestic and a foreign vessel? There does not. This will be plain from the citation of a few cases: *First*, That the service is rendered by a public vessel. In the case of the *Gage*, (6 Rob. 273,) civil and military salvage were both decreed, and in the *Lord Nelson*, (1 Edwards 79,) civil salvage; in each, the service being rendered by English men-of-war, and the property saved being also English. No objection was intimated by the bar or bench to the claim because of the official character of the salvors—an omission utterly inconsistent with the existence there of a distinction in such cases between public and private vessels rendering salvage service. *Second*. Is the rule there a different one when the vessel and property saved are foreign, and not domestic? Clearly not.

In the case of the *Pensamento Feliz*, (Edwards 115,) the vessel saved was Portuguese, and the claim actually made by the salvors was resisted, not upon that ground, or upon the ground of the public character of the salvors, but because the service was not of a military kind entitling to military salvage. In answer to this, Sir William Scott said: "Now, supposing it were clear that there was really no salvage of war, the effect of this objection would only be that I should put the parties to the expense of a new proceeding in the Instance Court. *There is no doubt that a Court of Admiralty has a general jurisdiction to reward services of this nature, and that the party would recover by action in the Instance Court.*"

He evidently considers the claim as perfectly clear, doubting only as to the character of the salvage to be awarded; that is, whether it should be military or civil. But the right to it, notwithstanding the salvors belonged to the naval service of England, and the property saved was foreign, was esteemed too plain for question.

I could multiply English cases if I thought it necessary. The objection, indeed, is nowhere, that I have been able to discover, suggested either in any English or American case, or by any English or American commentator. Nor is it necessary to cite but one American case. The United States *vs.* the Amistad, 15 Peters, 518. The facts, as far as this question is concerned, were these The Amistad, a Spanish schooner, on the 27th June 1839, cleared from Havana, in Cuba, for *Puerto Principe*, in the same island, having on board Capt. Ferrer, and Ruiz and Montez, Spanish subjects, and fifty-four negroes. During the voyage the negroes rose, killed the captain, and took possession of the vessel. They spared the lives of Ruiz and Montez, on their engaging to aid in steering the schooner for Africa, or to a place where negro slavery did not exist. The negroes were, in this deceived, and the vessel steered for the United States, where she arrived off Long Island on the 26th of August, and anchored within half a mile of the shore. In this condition she was discovered by *the United States brig Washington, Lieutenant Gedney*. With the assistance of his officers and crew, he took possession of her and of the negroes, and brought them into the district of Connecticut, and there libelled vessel, cargo and negroes *for salvage*. The Spanish owners of the cargo filed their claim to it, and denied *salvage*. The District Court decreed it to Lieut. Gedney, his officers and crew, to the amount of one-third of the value of vessel and cargo, rejecting it for the negroes; and the owners of the cargo appealed to the Circuit Court. That Court affirmed *pro forma* the decree, and the case was brought to the Supreme Court of the United States. There were many other questions growing out of facts which I have not stated, because they have no bearing upon the one I am considering. It will be seen that, as far as that question is involved, the case is directly in point. The property saved, vessel and cargo, were foreign, and the salvors a portion of the naval marine of the United States, on board a public vessel of the United States. It was even stronger in this, that there the United States themselves intervened, maintaining that it was their duty, under the treaty with Spain of the 27th October, 1795, as continued in 1819 and 1821, to have the property delivered *entire* to the Spanish owners, without any abatement for salvage, or any other claim. The then Attorney General, Mr. Gilpin, concludes his opening argument by saying that "the Court below has erred, because it has not decreed any part of the property to be delivered entire, &c. From the vessel and cargo it has deducted the salvage, diminishing them by that amount." But neither in the Court above nor below was the title to salvage contested, ex-

cept upon the ground of the supposed treaty obligation to restore Spanish property in the condition in which this was found. It was not pretended that any objection to it existed in the public character of the salvors or of their vessel. In giving the opinion of the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Story says: "No question has been here made as to the proprietary interests in the vessel and cargo. It is admitted that they belong to *Spanish subjects*, and that they ought to be restored. The only point on this head is, whether the restitution ought to be *on the payment of salvage or not*."—(15 Peters, 592.) And after examining the other questions which the case presented, he concludes the point of salvage in these words: "As to the claim of Lieut. Gedney for his salvage service, it is understood that the United States do not now desire to interpose any obstacle to the allowance of it, if it is deemed reasonable by the Court. It was a highly meritorious and useful service to the proprietors of the ship and cargo, and such as by the general principles of maritime law is always deemed a just foundation for salvage. The rate allowed by the Court, (being, as stated, one-third the value) does not seem to us to have been beyond the exercise of a sound discretion, under the very peculiar and embarrassing circumstances of the case." And the decree as to that was accordingly affirmed. This must be held to be conclusive upon the proposition. The point was distinctly made, and distinctly decided. It is not, therefore, with us an open question, nor indeed, upon the pretensions upon which I understand it to be resisted in the case of Captain Carpender, (the public character of the salvors,) was it, in England or the United States ever doubted. In the case of the Amistad that character existed, as also the foreign ownership of the saved property; and it was in relation to service so rendered, to property so owned, that the Court said that it was "*such as by the general principle of maritime law is always deemed a just foundation for salvage.*"

The doctrine upon the subject is therefore obviously the same with us as in England, or, to use the language of Story, in his edition of Abbot on Shipping, page 397, No. 1, "the general principles as to the allowance of salvage are the same in American as in English jurisprudence."

The only point, therefore, that could possibly arise in the present case is, whether we have a different rule in regard to the salvage of French property. I can find none stated or intimated any where. The rule I hold, then, to be universal in the United States, that salvage service rendered by the naval marine of the United States is to be compensated in like manner as that rendered by the private marine.

And this brings me to inquire, secondly, How should the rule be upon principle?

That the public policy of all nations should encourage a service of this description is manifest. Safety of life and property demand it, and the experience of the commercial world recommends it to universal adoption. It is the end to be attained which entitles it to and secures to it public favor, irrespective of the character of the means by which it is accomplished. The former addresses itself with persuasive influence to all. That end, as life and property are dear, is, if possible, to be secured, and all fair and lawful means to effect it are consequently to be encouraged. Why, then, is it that the officers of public armed vessels are not to have the same incentive to exertions necessary to the end with others? Are they under any other special obligation to do such deeds of kindness and humanity? The officer and the citizen are alike impelled to such service by general considerations of social duty. But the law has deemed it wise to add to the incentive of mere duty that of pecuniary reward. The service is often attended with great peril, and the experience of the world has proved that it should be stimulated by the prospect of pecuniary compensation. In the language of Sir William Scott in the case of the *Louisa Dodson*, 318, "and, though it is certainly the duty of the King's ships to afford assistance to all his Majesty's subjects whom they may meet with in distress, yet I do not know that it is incumbent upon them, at the hazard perhaps of their lives, and without any prospect of reward, to take charge of a ship in a sinking state. Any hesitation in affording assistance might be of dangerous consequence to the property of persons so circumstanced, and it is therefore proper, for the encouragement of prompt and signal exertions on the part of King's officers and men to hold out to them the prospect of reward."

The whole doctrine rests, in truth, upon an enlarged policy, and from its very nature must be irrespective of the private or public character of the salvors. In the words of Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of *Mason et al.* vs. *Ship Blaireau*, 2 *Cranch* 240—a French vessel by-the-by, rescued from danger by the claimants of salvage—"the allowance of a very ample compensation for these services (one very much exceeding the mere risk encountered and labor employed in assisting them) is attended as an inducement to render them, which it is for the public interests and for the general interests of humanity to hold forth to those who navigate the ocean."

If such considerations be well founded—and who can doubt it?—it might prove a perilous experiment for France to adopt the rule, and obtain its recognition by the other nations of the world, that no salvage shall be allowed those who might rescue French life and property upon the ocean from impending destruction.

There is, however, no such rule now existing, and I am therefore very clear in the opinion that the case before me was one for salvage.

I have the honor to be, &c.

REVERDY JOHNSON.

Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON,
Secretary of State.

Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co. objected also to the rate of salvage claimed on the Arrow and cargo, because it would give to the salvors an aggregate far greater, in their opinion, than the value of the services rendered; and therefore urged that the amount of remuneration should not be proportionate to the value of the property rescued, but proportionate only to the toil and personal risk of the salvors. They urged that the claim for salvage on the vessel should be distinct from the claim for salvage on the cargo, because the rate claimed on the vessel should be based on the labor and time expended in getting her afloat; but the rate on the cargo should be very much reduced, for the reason that it was jeoparded in the port of its destination, and had only to be transhipped in boats from the site of danger to the "receiving vessels." Their argument is that property saved when far

from the residence of its owners is worth more than when rescued from loss at their very doors, and consequently should pay a higher rate of salvage in proportion to the distance it may be from its proprietors.

They also objected to salvage in the case of the British brig Arrow, because salvage had not been claimed in the American brig Eagle, which vessel was stranded at the same time. Why salvage was not claimed in the case of the American brig Eagle is not apparent; but the neglect in this case is not in itself conclusive against the claim on account of the Arrow.

The salvors might have urged that they were entitled to higher rate of salvage, because the property saved was a contraband in the port where endangered, and that saving opium from destruction was contrary to the spirit of the Chinese law, which neither party had a right to disregard. It might have been viewed as confiscated, and that the captors were entitled to the whole.

In saving the opium contained in the Arrow and in the Eagle, assistance was given to smugglers, which, in a moral point of view, they were not entitled to receive.

The case was decided by an arbitration, which gave a gross sum of $15,000 to the salvors, and $500 for salvage expenses.

The character given to the Chinese by Christian writers seems to me untruthful as a whole, though, I doubt not individual conduct may be found to sustain the statements made. It is not easy to view misbelievers without a bias, to see in them those virtues, when they exist, which we are too ready to suppose belong exclusively to Christian men. I have been quixotic enough to seek for truth; but I have not sufficient presumption to assert that I have found it. The following extracts and comments upon them will exhibit to the reader:

The Character given to the Chinese by Foreigners.

"The responsibility of the writer (of official edicts) in a measure ceases with the promulgation of his orders, and when they reach the last in the series, their efficiency has well nigh departed. Expediency is the usual guide for obedience; deceiving superiors and oppressing the people the rule of action on the part of officials; and their orders do not more strikingly exhibit their weakness and ignorance, than their mendacity and conceit."—Vol. 1 p. 375.—*Middle Kingdom.*

"During the last war with England, fear of punishment induced many of the subordinates to commit suicide when unable to execute their orders, and the same motive impelled their superiors to avoid the wrath of the Emperor in the same way. The hong-merchants and linguists at Canton, during the old regime, were constantly liable to exactions and punishments for the acts of their foreign customers from the operation of this principle. One of them, Sernshing, was put in prison and ruined because Lord Napier came to Canton from Whampoa in the boat of a ship he had 'secured' [become security for] several weeks before, and the linguist and pilot were banished, for allowing what they could not possibly have hindered, even if they had known it."—Ib. p. 333.

The inference from this last paragraph is surely different from that to be drawn from the preceding one. If punishment so severe in its character as to render suicide preferable to its endurance, be inflicted for disobedience, something more than mere expediency must be the guide for obedience. Mr. Williams contradicts himself—

"In comparison with other Asiatic nations, the Chinese have made distinguished attainments in general intelligence, and in good government so far as security of life and property goes, and the tone of public opinion is more in favor of morality and sobriety than among their neighbors. The deficiencies consist mostly in those things which Christianity alone can supply, and until that comes to their aid they cannot be expected to advance. It is a remarkable thing that the writings of Confucius and his disciples should have been regarded with such reverence; and we are disposed to look upon their teachings as sustained and invigorated by the all-wise Governor of nations for his own gracious designs, more directly than perhaps second causes would lead us to conclude. 'The Chinese student, not being secured from error by the light of revealed religion, can only derive his moral precepts from his school learning. He is certainly therefore fortunate in the possession of a body of ancient national literature, which, while it cultivates his taste and improves his understanding, contains nothing to influence his passions or corrupt his heart. The Chinese are not compelled, as we are, upon the authority of great names, and for the sake of the graces of style and language to place in the hands of their youth, works containing passages which put modesty to the blush—works in which the most admirable maxims of morality are mixed and confounded together in the same page with avowals and descriptions of the most disgusting licentiousness. The writings which the Chinese put into the hands of their youthful students are in this respect wholly unexceptionable.'* This testimony is unimpeachable."—Ib. p. 435.

"The examples of filial piety contained in it (a work by Chu Hi) are more interesting to a foreigner than the minute directions about intercourse and behavior. Still these last all go to form Chinese character, and give it that development which makes it the strange compound of ignorance and scholastic erudition, the union of cruelty and politeness, of condescension and contempt, of civilization and barbarism, which it really is."—Id. p. 539.

"Those who have been educated are generally remarkably fond of books; and though there are no public libra-

* Description of the city of Canton—1839. This work is attributed to the pen of the Rev. Mr. Bridgeman.

ries in Canton, yet the establishments for manufacturing and vending books are numerous. And to supply those who are unable to purchase for themselves the works they need, a great number of circulating libraries are kept constantly in motion. But almost all of these books are bad; this charge, however, does not lie with equal force against those works which usually constitute the text books of literary men."—*Description of the city of Canton.*

"Beggars find their lodgings in the porches or temples, or the sides of the streets, and nestle together in their rags for mutual warmth. This class of people is under the care of a headman, who, with the advice of the elders and constables, apportions them in the separate neighborhoods. During the day, they go from one house or shop door to another, and receive their allotted stipend, which cannot be less than one 'cash' to each person; they sit in the doorway and sing a ditty or beat their clap-dishes and sticks to attract attention, and if the shopkeeper has no customers, he lets them keep up their cries, for he knows the longer they are detained at the door, so much the more time will elapse before they come again to his shop. Many of them are blind and all of them present a sickly appearance, their countenance begrimed with dirt, and *furrowed by sorrow and suffering.* The areas before the temples and the vicinity of markets are the resort of numbers, and there too they die by scores from disease and starvation, *presenting an affecting illustration of the cold indifference heathenism exhibits towards the distress of the poor.* Many persons give the headman a dollar or more per month to purchase exemption from the daily importunity of the beggars; and families about to perform house warming, a marriage, or funeral, and newly arrived junks, are obliged to fee him to get rid of the clamorous and loathsome crowd."—*The Middle Kingdom*, vol. 2, p. 16.

The author of "The Middle Kingdom" here bears testimony to the sensibility of the Chinese; he says their countenances are "furrowed by sorrow and suffering," but expresses an opinion that the Chinese are indifferent "to the distress of the poor," because they are heathens, that is, not members of the Christian community. If the Chinese are totally indifferent to the distresses of beggars, why have they placed them under regulations which permit importunity till shopmen and others bestow a gratuity of at least one "cash;" until this be given the beggar may besiege the shop or house door as long as he pleases, without fear of personal chastisement; but when the "cash" is bestowed he must retreat. It might be inferred from this custom or regulation being sanctioned by public opinion, that the charity of the Chinese affords considerable toleration for beggars, some of whom at least, "go from one house or shop door to another and receive their *allotted stipend.*" Then again, "The King of the Beggars" assigns his subjects to different beats or wards every day; and in their behalf levies a kind of "black mail" on those who are willing to pay rather than suffer the annoyance of importunity.

My own personal observation in Canton is, that although the beggars are numerous, they are not more loathsome or importunate to strangers than their miserable brethren in London or New York. The Christianity of a nation or large community, does not exempt people from sorrow, poverty, beggary, or starvation, nor afford less "affecting illustration of the cold indifference," in many instances, men of all creeds and nations exhibit towards the distress of the poor. Look at travellers' accounts of Italy and its most holy city; or France, Spain, Portugal, England, Ireland, and even of New York, and learn whether death by starvation, or suicide induced by hopeless poverty be not recorded; whether hordes of beggars are not seen in all the great cities of Christian Europe with as much cold indifference by their respective countrymen, as the beggars of Canton by the natives of the Middle Kingdom. Want of sympathy with those afflicted by poverty may be charged both on heathenism and Christianity; but to the latter it is surely a greater reproach, because the precepts of our Saviour inculcate a different practice. "Remove the beam from thine own eye, before thou touch the mote in that of thy neighbour."

Listen to what an Englishman relates of England.

"It was dark before he reached Winchester, and he was obliged to go to an inn, which did not very well suit with his finances. He had such a supper as his humble means would afford, paid for it, and desired to be shown to his bed. The landlady replied there was no bed there for such as him; and he was actually forced, with terms of abuse, to turn out of an inn where there was not a single bed-room occupied, at ten o'clock at night, in the month of December. After wandering about the streets for some time in search of a lodging, he had length got shelter for the night in a small house at the skirt of the town. It is affecting to read of such things; but we allude to them here, in the hope of serving an useful purpose. We find this entry in his notes: 'On Sunday morning I was sixty-four miles from London, and had only one shilling in my pocket. I was hungry, but I durst not eat—thirsty, and I durst not drink, for fear of being obliged to lie all night at the side of a hedge, in a cold night in December. After dark I travelled over Bagshot, was denied admittance into some of the public-houses and ill-used in others. He requested the shelter of a barn at a farm house near the road, but was met with a surly negative.' At another place our Biographer says—"At Nice the people refused him a lodging, while they thought him to be a German; but

when they understood him to be an Englishman, gave him the best apartment in the house, and the best of every thing."*

"The laws forbid the marriage of a brother's widow, of a father's or grandfather's wife, or a father's sister under the penalty of death; and the like punishment is inflicted upon whoever seizes the wife or daughter of a freeman and carries them away to marry them.

"These regulations not only put honor upon marriage, but render it more common among the Chinese than almost any other people, thereby preventing a vast train of evils. The tendency of unrestrained desire to throw down the barriers to the gratification of lust must not be lost sight of; and as no laws on this subject can be effectual unless the common sense of a people approve of them, the Chinese, by separating the sexes in general society, have removed a principal provocation to sin, and by compelling young men to fulfil the marriage contract of their parents, have also provided a safeguard against debauchery at the age when youth is most tempted to indulge, and when indulgence would most strongly disincline them to marry at all. They have, moreover, provided for the undoubted succession of the inheritance, by disallowing more than one *wife;* and yet have granted men the liberty they would otherwise take, and which immemorial usage in Asiatic countries has sanctioned. They have done as well as they could in regulating a difficult matter, and better on the whole, perhaps, than in most other unchristianized countries. If any one supposes, however, that because these laws exist, sins against the seventh commandment are uncommon in China, he will be mistaken as those who infer that because the Chinese are pagans, nothing like modesty, purity, affection, or love, exists between the sexes.

"When a girl 'spills the tea,' that is, loses her intended husband by death, public opinion honors her if she refuse a second engagement; and instances are cited of young ladies committing suicide, rather than contract a second marriage. They sometimes leave their father's house and live with the parents of the affianced husband as if they had been really widows. It is considered reproachful for widows to marry."—*The Middle Kingdom, vol. ii, p.* 61.

If a wife elopes and marries, she is to be strangled.

A young lady, "having heard of the worthless character of her intended, carried a bag of money with her in the sedan, [in which she is carried to the groom,] and when they retired after the ceremonies were over, thus addressed him: 'Touch me not; I am resolved to abandon the world and become a nun. I shall this night cut off my hair. I have saved $200, which I give you; with half you can purchase a concubine, and with the rest enter on some trade. Be not lazy and thriftless. Hereafter remember me.' Saying this she cut off her hair, and her husband and kindred fearing suicide if they opposed her, acquiesced, and she returned to her father's house. Such cases are not uncommon, and young ladies implore their parents to rescue them in this or some other way from the sad fate which awaits them"—*Id. p.* 64.

"True politeness, exhibited in an unaffected regard for the feelings of others, cannot, of course, be taught by rules merely; but a great degree of urbanity and kindness is every where shown, whether owing to the naturally placeable disposition of the people, or to the effects of their early instruction in the forms of politeness. Whether in the crowded and narrow thoroughfares, the village green, the bustling market, the jostling ferry, or the thronged procession,—wherever the people are assembled promiscuously, good humor and courtesy are observable; and when altercations do arise, wounds or serious injuries seldom ensue, although from the furious clamor one would imagine half the crowd were in danger of their lives.—*Id., p.* 62.

"Combats between crickets are contested with great spirit, and tubfulls of them are caught in the autumn and sold in the streets to supply gamesters. Two well chosen combatants are put into a basin and irritated with a straw, until they rush upon each other with the utmost fury, chirruping as they make the onset, and the battle seldom ends without a tragical result in loss of life or limb. Quails are also trained to mortal combat; two are placed on a railed table, on which a handful of millet has been strown, and as one picks up a kernel, the other flies at him with beak, claws and wings, and the struggle is kept up till one retreats by hopping into the hands of his disappointed owner. Hundreds of dollars are occasionally betted upon these cricket or quail fights, which, if not as sublime, are perhaps less inhuman than the pugilistic fights and bull-baits of Christian countries, while both show the same brutal love of sport at the expense of life."—*Id., p.* 90.

"The absence of some of the violent and gladiatorial sports of other countries, and of the adjudication of doubtful questions by ordeals or duels; the general dislike to a resort to force, their inability to cope with enemies of vastly less resources and number, and the comparative disesteem of warlike achievements, all indicate the peaceful traits of Chinese character. Duels are unknown, assassinations are infrequent, betting on horseraces is still to begin, and 'running a muck' à la Malay, is unheard of; and when two persons fall out upon a matter, after a vast variety of gesture and huge vociferation of opprobrium, they will blow off their wrath, and separate almost without touching each other."—*Id., p.* 91.

"While their contrarieties indicate a different external civilization, a slight acquaintance with their morals proves their similiarity to their fellow men in the lineaments of a fallen and depraved nature. As among other people, the lights and shadows of virtue and vice are blended in their character and the degree of advancement they have made while destitute of the great encouragements offered to perseverance in well doing in the Bible, afford grounds for hoping that when they are taught out of that book, they will receive it as the rule of their conduct. Some of the better traits of their character have been remarkably developed. They have attained, by the observance of peace and good order, to high a degree of security for life and property; the various classes of society are linked together in a remarkably homogeneous manner by the diffusion of education and property, and equality of competition for office; and receives its just reward of food, raiment and shelter, with a uniformity which encourages its constant exertion. * * * Education has strengthened and disseminated the morality they had, and God has blessed their filial piety by making their days long in the land which he has given them."—*Id., p.* 92.

"With a general regard for outward decency, they are vile and polluted in a shocking degree; their conversation is full of filthy expressions and their lives of impure acts They are somewhat restrained in the latter by the fences put around the family circle, so that seduction and adultery are comparatively infrequent, the former may

* Life of Dr. Robert Jackson,—prefixed to a View of the Formation, Discipline and Economy of Armies. By the late Robert Jackson, M. D. Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. London. 1845.

even be said to be rare; but brothels and their inmates occur every where on land and water."—*Id. p.* 96.

How does Canton differ in this respect from Paris or New York. See the work of Parent du Chattellet—

"More uneradicable than the sins of the flesh is the falsity of the Chinese, and its attendant sin of base ingratitude; their disregard of truth has perhaps done more to lower their character in the eyes of Christendom than any other fault. They feel no shame at being detected in a lie, though they have not gone quite so far as not to know when they do lie, nor do they fear any punishment from their gods from it."—*Id., p.* 96.

Our author here charges "base ingratitude" among the national traits of Chinese character. On page 574, vol. 1, he gives a translation of an "extemporaneous sonnet, written by Ma, a gentleman of respectable literary attainments, who was successfully operated upon for cataract in Dr. Parker's Opthalmic Hospital at Canton. This effort at least sprang from gratitude; I give the concluding verses—

"'With grateful heart, with heaving breast, with feelings flowing o'er,'
I cried, 'O lead me quick to him who can the sight restore!'
To kneel I tried, but he forbade; and forcing me to rise,
'To mortal man bend not the knee;' then pointing to the skies:—

"'I'm but,' said he, 'the workman's tool, another's is the hand;
Before *his* might, and in *his* sight, men, feeble, helpless stand:
Go, virtue learn to cultivate, and never thou forget
That for some works of future good thy life is spared thee yet!'

"The off'ring, token of my thanks, he refused; nor would he take
Silver or gold, they seemed as dust; 'tis but for virtue's sake
His works are done. His skill divine I ever must adore,
Nor lose remembrance of his name till life's last day is o'er.

"Thus have I told in these brief words, this learned doctor's praise,
Well does his worth deserve that I should tablets to him raise."

Other instances of Chinese gratitude for benefits received at the hands of physicians are recorded by our author, vol. ii, p. 345; but he mentions no case of Chinese ingratitude. In his reports of the Ophthalmic Hospital, Canton, Dr. Parker notices many instances of lively expression of gratitude by the Chinese patients.

The charge of mendacity does not belong exclusively to the Chinese. There must be truthful men in a community in which there are no lawyers by profession—by the way, this sign of civilization the Chinese want, although we find them in possession of most of the institutions which are supposed to belong only to civiliized nations of Christendom. The Chinese have a literature, and learned men; religion, temples for public worship, and priests; laws and judges, but no lawyers; taverns, tea-gardens, gambling-shops, restaurants and brothels; foundling-hospitals, jails, and places for decollation; business-brokers, bandits, pirates, money-changers and slaves; theatres, bill-stickers, and mountebanks; druggists, doctors, quacks, and last, not least, "newsboys" vending the Peking Gazette or the last new novel. What more has Christian Paris, or enlightened England?

But to return: I hope the general charge of mendacity is exaggerated. When, during the Opium War, the negotiation for the ransom of the city of Canton was settled without any written document: Howqua pledged his word to Commissioner Elliot that six millions of dollars should be paid for the city, and Elliot was satisfied. It was long afterwards a source of gratification to Howqua that Elliot had not doubted his word on that occasion; and when he urged his fellow hong-merchants to bring forth their money, he said to one of them who manifested some reserve, "Howqua has promised to pay; his word must be redeemed." His arguments were not urged by representations of the sufferings and calamities which must befal the city if the money were not paid; it was, "Howqua has promised!" This was worthy the best days of Pagan Rome, and is surely some proof that truth is recognized as a virtue in the Middle Kingdom. It is true Howqua was a remarkable man. It is related of him that some years ago, he called on a late merchant of Philadelphia, then resident in Canton, and said, "Mr. —, I hear you wantshey go America side catchey wifo—you litty olo, now; why you no go?"

"How can I, Mr. Howqua? You hold my notes for $80,000; just now I have not the money to take them up."

Howqua drew from his sleeve, (the pocket of the Chinese,) these notes, tore them and

deposited the fragments in a spittoon, saying, "Now, Mr. —, you can go so soon you please."

The Philadelphian was moved of course by such an act of generous confidence. He left Canton. Some years afterwards, a vessel arrived at Whampoa and brought a barrel of hams, and several packages directed to Howqua. The agent told Howqua these had been sent as a present from Mr. —, of Philadelphia. "What man, that?" "Mr. —." "That man forget my, ten year: I forget he: make sendy that thing, *all-a*, back to he." Both Howqua and the merchant have paid nature's debt; the Christian merchant although he had not paid Howqua, was distinguished before his death for liberally giving bills and other things to the church from his ample means. And the Pagan Howqua gave gratuitously a lease of the building occupied as the Ophthalmic Hospital in Canton, and this "gratuitous lease," says Dr. Parker in his 14th report, "granted by his aged and distinguished father, has been, and still is, continued by his estimable son," young Howqua.

"The facilities and security of commerce in a country are among the best indices of its government being administered, on the whole, in a tolerably just manner, and on those principles which give the mechanic, farmer and merchant a good prospect of reaping the fruits of their industry. This security is afforded to China to a considerable degree, and is one of the most satisfactory proofs, amidst all the corruptions, extortions, injustice, and depravity seen in their courts and in society at large, that the people on the whole receive and enjoy the rewards of industry. Tranquillity may often be owing to the strong arm of power, but trade, manufactures, voyages and large commercial enterprizes must remunerate those who undertake them, or they cease. The Chinese are eminently a trading people; their merchants are acute, methodical, sagacious and enterprising, not over-scrupulous as to their mercantile honesty in small transactions, but in large dealings exhibiting that regard for character in the fulfilment of their obligations, which extensive commercial engagements usually produce. The roguery and injustice which an officer of the government may commit without disgrace, would blast a merchant's reputation, and he enters into the largest transactions with confidence, being guarantied in his engagements by a system of mercantile security and responsibility, which is more effectual than legal sanctions."—*The Middle Kingdom, vol. ii, p.* 396–7.

The author seems to examine the practical details of the Chinese government, as one would a great steam engine whose attention is so much attracted by the greasy drippings around the packing boxes and journals of the machine, or the jarring sounds of its action, that he does not appreciate its value and the harmonious adaptation of its several parts.

The author does not mean, it is presumed, that the same man who would "not be overscrupulous" in petty dealings, would be strictly honest in large transactions?

"The integrity and fair dealing of the hong-merchants and great traders at Canton, is in advance of the usual mercantile honesty of their countrymen. A Chinese requires but little motive to falsify, and he is constantly sharpening his wits to cozen his customer, wheedle him by promises and cheat him in goods or work. There is nothing which tries one so much when living among them as their disregard of truth, and renders him *so indifferent as to what calamities befal so mendacious a race;* an abiding impression of suspicion rests upon the mind towards every body, which chills the warmest wishes or their welfare and thwarts many a plan to benefit them."
Middle Kingdom, vol. ii., p. 97.

Business is conducted in Canton to a great extent, if not entirely, on honor, without written pledges of any kind being asked or given, except among Europeans. There are very few instances known of failure on the part of Chinese to comply with their contracts; perhaps there are as many failures on the part of Christian merchants trading with them.

When a mercantile house or firm is established in Canton, among the first things is to appoint a Cómprador, a Chinaman, who is, in fact, the cashier and treasurer, paying and receiving teller of the establishment. He is appointed simply on his reputation for integrity; he gives no bond or any available security; yet on inquiry I do not learn there is any instance of a defaulting Chinese Cómprador—not one reported as having "gone to Texas." The Cómprador engages the servants of the house and guaranties their honesty; among these, the number found to be dishonest is few compared with the same class in other countries. He acts as steward and butler also. The Cómprador receives no salary, but depends for remuneration a small discount from bills paid by him, which is at the cost of the receiver. Should a Cómprador abscond, bearing away the contents of the treasure vault, which not unfrequently, in large mercantile houses, contains $100,000 or more in silver and gold, at a time, and sit down within the city walls, pursuit would be fruitless. Should the municipal government attempt to

find him, the chances are still in favor of escape.

I have heard it stated, too, more than once, that the stevedores, laborers and others employed in the service of merchant vessels at Whampoa, are more honest and faithful on the whole than the same classes in the United States. Sailors in China fare quite as well as in other parts of the world frequented by them, for wherever they land, "land-sharks" are sure to be found on the alert, to cheat or otherwise maltreat them.

That there is an abundance of rogues of every description amongst the Chinese, I have no doubt, but I believe they are no worse than the so-called Christian nations of the West.

Whether the expression I have italicised in the above quotation is a *lapsus linguæ v. pennæ* or not, it does not become the pen of a Christian missionary. He surely is not ignorant that perjury is among the crimes of Christian nations? Can Christians or philanthropists feel indifferent to the fate, to the calamities of a people, of a heathen people, because the cowardly habit of lying exists amongst them, because of a flaw in their morality? To the presumed want of religion and morals amongst the Chinese, Christian missionaries here are indebted for employment; and their incentive to labor should be in proportion to the depravity they encounter?

"Thieving is exceedingly common, and the illegal exactions of the rulers are burdensome. This vice, too, is somewhat restrained by the punishments inflicted on criminals, though the root of the evil is not touched. While the licentiousness of the Chinese may be in part ascribed to their ignorance of pure intellectual pleasures, and the want of virtuous female society, so may their lying be attributed partly to their truckling fear of officers, and their thievery to the want of sufficient food or work.

"Hospitality is not a trait of their character; on the contrary, the number and wretched condition of the beggars show that public and private charity is almost extinct; yet here too, the sweeping charge must be modified when we remember the efforts they make to sustain their relatives and families in so densely peopled a country."
Id., p. 97.

What necessary connection exists between hospitality, kindness to guests and strangers, and private and public charity, the giving of alms to paupers? Men accept hospitality who would scorn public or private charity?

"This brief sketch of Chinese religious character will be incomplete without some notice of the benevolent institutions found amongst them. Good acts are considered proofs of sincerity; the classics teach benevolence, and the religious books and tracts of the Buddhists inculcate compassion to the poor and relief of the sick. Private alms of rice or clothes are frequently given, and householders pay a constant poor tax in their donations to the beggars quartered in their neighborhood. There is a foundling hospital in Canton, founded in 1698, containing accommodations for about 300 children; its annual expenses are not far from $3.500, a good part of which used to be filched (?) from foreigners by a tax on their shipping. A retreat for poor, aged and infirm, or blind people, is situated near it, the expenses of which are stated at about $7,000, but the number of persons relieved is not mentioned. The peculation and bad faith of the managers vitiate many of these institutions, and indispose the charitable to patronise them. A translation* of the annual report of the Foundling Hospital at Shanghai established in 1707, opens with Ynngching's rescript of approbation accompanying his donation, and a tablet he sent to it in 1725; and then follows a preface succeeded by a regular report. In this the people are exhorted to subscribe to an institution conducted with so much order and energy, and which emperors and empresses have sanctioned and supported."—*The Middle Kingdom, vol. ii, p.* 280.

"The names of distinguished benefactors are recorded, and the report concludes by an appeal for funds, as the institution is nearly out of money. Various modes of raising supplies are proposed, and arguments are brought forward to induce people to give; the appeal ends with the following, which would answer almost equally well for the report of a charitable institution in Western lands.

"'If, for the extension of kindness to our fellow-creatures, and to those poor and destitute who have no father and mother, all the good and benevolent would daily give one cash, (1—1100th of a dollar,) it would be sufficient for the maintenance of the foundlings one day. Let no one consider a small good unmeritorious, nor a small subscription as of no avail. Either you may induce others to subscribe by the vernal breeze from your mouth, or you may nourish the blade of benevolence in the field of happiness, or cherish the already sprouting bud. Thus, by taking advantage of opportunities as they present themselves, and using your endeavors to accomplish your object, you may immeasureably benefit and extend the institution.'"

* * * *

"Similar establishments are found in all large towns, some of them partly supported by the government; all of them seem to be of modern origin, less than two centuries old, and may have been imitated from, or suggested by, the Romanists."—*Id., p.* 282.

These statements indicate that compassion for the poor and helpless does exist among the Chinese; and that there is both public and private charity exercised to a considerable extent, although it may be inadequate to succor all who are needy and afflicted. In what part of the world is the number of charitable institutions large enough to relieve all the indigence arising from vice, poverty and disease? The field of benevolence is inexhaustible, even in Christian lands, where the

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XIV pp. 177—195.

precepts of our Saviour are not as extensively practised as they might be.

> "Oh that some power the giftie'd gie us,
> To see oursels as others see us."

National self-valuation generally, if not universally, tends to run up very high; while the national judgment tends to estimate other nations as inferior. In the case of the English and Chinese, who have been recently in contact, it is amusing to contrast what they say of each other.

In the opinion of Dr. D. McPherson, of the Madras Army, who has published a very faulty account of what he saw:*—In the opinion of Dr. McPherson "the true character of the Chinese, taken in a public point of view," is as follows: "Haughty, cruel, and hypocritical, they despise all other nations but their own; they regard themselves as faultless, [so do all nations.] Next to the son of heaven, a true Chinaman thinks himself the greatest man in the world, and China, beyond all comparison, to be the most civilized, the most learned, the most fruitful, the most ancient—in short, the only country in the world. [The Chinese invariably apply similar remarks to the English nation.] They style all foreigners barbarians, and they tell them, 'We can do without you, but you can not do without us; if your country is so good, why do you come here for tea and rhubarb?'"

As far as relates to the English this is quite correct; the Chinese are not dependent on them for supplies of any kind.

"In private life they excel many other nations. Here indeed do we find a direct contrast to the character given of them by the world. There are no castes among them, consequently the great barrier between man and man, so generally subsisting among eastern nations, is altogether done away with, and the passing stranger is at all times welcome to partake of the poorest man's fare." Here is a witness, a transient visiter, testifying to the hospitality of the Chinese, in the face of Mr. Williams, who has been a resident for twelve years!

* Two Years in China. Narrative of the Chinese Expedition from its formation in April, 1840, to the treaty of peace in August, 1842. By D. McPherson, M. D. Madras Army. Attached to the service of his Highness the Nizam, and lately with the 37th Grenadier Regiment in China. Second edition. 8 vo. pp. 391. London. 1843.

The following sentences are indicative of the opinion held of the English by the Chinese.

"There is a building at Canton called the Ming-lun Tang, or Free Discussion Hall, where political matters are discussed under the knowledge of government, which rather tries to mould than put them down, for the assistance of such bodies, rightly managed, in carrying out their intentions, is considerable, while discontent would be roused if they were forcibly suppressed. In October, 1842, meetings were held in this hall, at one of which a public manifesto was issued,"* from which I quote such sentences as express the opinion of the Chinese of the English.

"Wherefore peace being now settled in the country, ships of all lands come, distant though they be from this, for many a myriad of miles; and of all the foreigners on the south and west there is not one but what enjoys the highest peace and contentment, and entertains the profoundest respect and submission.

"But there is that English nation: whose ruler is now a woman and then a man, its people at one time like birds and then like beasts, with dispositions more fierce and furious than the tiger or wolf, and hearts more greedy than the snake or hog—this people has ever stealthily devoured all the southern barbarians, and like the demon of the night they now suddenly exalt themselves. During the reigns of Kienlung and Kiaking, these English barbarians humbly besought entrance and permission to a present; they also presumptuously requested to have Chusan, but those divine personages, clearly perceiving their traitorous designs, gave them a peremptory refusal. From that time linking themselves in with traitorous traders, they have privily dwelt at Macao, trading largely in opium and poisoning our brave people. They have ruined lives,—how many millions none can tell; and wasted property,—how many thousands of millions who can guess! They have dared again and again to murder Chinese, and have secreted the murderers, whom they have refused to deliver up, at which the hearts of all men grieved and their heads ached. Thus it has been for many years past, the English by their privily watching for opportunities in the country have gradually brought things to the present crisis.

* * * *

"During the past three years, these rebels, depending upon their stout ships and effective cannon, from Canton went to Fuhkien, thence to Chehkiang, and on to Kiangsu, seizing our territory, destroying our civil and military authorities, ravishing our women, capturing our property, and bringing upon the inhabitants of these four provinces intolerable miseries.† His imperial majesty was troubled and afflicted, and this added to his grief and anxiety. If you wish to purify their crimes, all the fuel in the empire will not suffice, nor would the vast ocean be enough to wash out our resentment. Gods and men are alike filled with indignation, and heaven and earth cannot permit them to remain.

* * * *

"Now these English rebels are barbarians, dwelling in a petty island beyond our domains; yet their coming throws myriads of miles of country into turmoil, while their numbers do not exceed a few myriads. What can be easier than for our celestial dynasty to exert its fullness

* The Middle Kingdom, vol. i, p. 389.

† Captain Arthur Cunynghame, Aid-de-camp to Major General Lord Saltoun, in his "Recollections of Service in China," testifies fully to this truth.

of power, and exterminate these contemptible sea-going imps, just as the blast bends the pliant bamboo.

* * * *

"These English barbarians are at bottom without ability, and yet we have all along seen in the memorials that officers exalt and dilate upon their prowess and obstinacy; our people are courageous and enthusiastic, but the officers, on the contrary, say that they are dispirited and scattered.

* * * *

"The dispositions of these rebellious English are like that of the dog or sheep, whose desires can never be satisfied; and therefore we need not inquire whether the peace now made be real or pretended. Remember that when they last year made disturbance at Canton, they seized the square fort, and thereupon exhibited their audacity, every where plundering and ravishing.

* * * *

"We have respectfully read through all his majesty's mandates, and they are as clearsighted as the sun and moon; but those who now manage affairs, are like one who supposing the raging fire to be under, puts himself at ease as swallows in a court; but who, if the calamity suddenly reappears, would be as defenceless as a grampus in a fish market. The law adjudges the penalty of death for betraying the country, but how can even death atone for their crimes? Those persons who have been handed down to succeeding ages with honor, and those whose memories have been execrated, are but little apart on the page of righteous history; let our rulers but remember this, and we think they also must exert themselves to recover their characters. We people have had our day in times of great peace, and this age is one of abundant prosperity; scholars are devising how to recompense the kindness of the government, nor can husbandmen think of forgetting his majesty's exertions for them. Our indignation was early excited to join battle with the enemy, and then all urged one another to the firmest loyalty."

It will not be difficult to sustain the Chinese views of English character by reference to British authors.

"The English peasant is a bold and confident peasant. He is open and blunt, apparently sincere, sometimes generous, often rude, boisterous, and overbearing, rarely gracious or courteous to strangers, particularly to those who have nothing to bestow. He generally assumes an air of independence, is indifferent to equals, even to superiors, except where he expects favor or bounty; he is then as obsequious as his neighbors of the north. He sells his service, public or private, and deems his service equal to his reward. He is little disposed to form personal attachment from pure love. He is often arrogant when he possesses money, abject when he is without it; for he seems to consider money as the sovereign of men and things. He is proud of his nation and contemptuous of others; he is rude, but not cruel or vindictive, and he rarely ill treats an enemy after the chance of war, or any other chance, has brought him within his power."*

This character of the English peasant and artizan, the people who enter the British Army, would not be disputed by the Chinese. In fact, it is questionable whether the moral character of the Chinese will suffer by comparison with that of the British.

"The English are nationally speculative, and adventurous of all games of chance. Two passions do not reign with equal force in the same subject at the same time; consequently the spirit of the war of honor, as it is called, does not run high among people who are adventurers for gain of money through speculations in trade and manufacture. The name of military service does not bring distinction in England [this is a mistake ?] as it does in many parts of Europe; and, as the profession of arms is not here held in the first estimation, the better class of the peasantry do not leave the plough or the shuttle for the sword; consequently the recruits of infantry regiments are not on a level with the mass of the nation."

"The dominant principle of acting for and by money adheres to the nation in all its operations, that is, the nation is manufacturing and commercial by constitutional habit, military contingently for profit, not for glory. A proportion of the people, influenced by the desire of gain, enticed by the tinsel of dress, or driven by the necessity of want, arrange themselves at the commencement of war under military standards. The ranks are thus filled with men; they are not filled with soldiers, for we do not admit those to be soldiers who have no higher motive to induce them to assume the soldier's garb than a pecuniary bribe, an instigation of vanity, or a necessity arising from want of bread; and as the mass of English recruits consists of such, its military character is not what it might be, that is, not on a level with the bulk of the nation."*

I have ventured to suggest a comparison between the *moral* character of the Chinese and English as nations; the superiority of the latter in religion, intelligence, science, and in war is not questioned, but if we may rely upon British novelists and poets for correctly drawn, though warmly colored pictures of their countrymen, on the records of history, or on the annals of crime as exhibited in the records of the criminal courts of London, Dublin and Edinburgh; or on the truth of the allusions made in the newspapers of the day to "elopements in high life;" or should we seek the evidence of sight and judge of the morals of the nation by what may be seen in St. Giles, or in the gin-palaces of London, we must conclude the heathen Chinese to be depraved indeed to rate lower in morals than the so-called Christian British, or so-called Christian Americans, whose daily papers teem with notices of murders, rape, seduction, robbery, swindling and perjury. In these we almost equal the mother country.

But we complain when travellers, with few opportunities of knowing, and with short

* A View of the Formation, Discipline and Economy of Armies. By the late Robert Jackson, M. D. Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. London. 1845. p. 187.

* Jackson on Discipline of Armies.

time for seeing, characterise us nationally from their observance of a few individuals. The Halls, Trollopes, Dickenses have not been forgotten or forgiven; why then shall we agree with the same class of travellers who, without speaking the language, and coming in contact at best with the inferior, if not the lowest classes of Chinese, at Canton, determine that the Chinese are without religion and morals; that they are thieves, liars, cowards, pirates, bandits and murderers. That there are very many Chinese who are untruthful and dishonest; who are pirates, murderers and robbers, is not questioned; but I do not believe, from the little I have seen and read, that they are, "ake them by and large," as sailors say, inferior in morals to the Christian nations of the West.

With this I conclude the rough notes made during a brief visit to the Middle Kingdom, which seems now to be in a revolutionary condition—a transition state—but I will not venture a conjecture about the result.

When I made the notes, it was my design to work them into the form of a book, and the sentiment under which I have written always, has been expressed by Jerome Paturot;—"Mon pays a droit à la verité; je dirai la verité à mon pays." But observe, friendly reader, I do not declare that what I have said is true; I only assert I believe it is: therefore, question my judgment and observation as much as you please, but I beg you not to assail my veracity.

Dep

Postal from St. Peter. 57

"gotta water. pro."

"Interpreter" "friday"

Step from = battalion

Forjaz = Regiment

Step from line = Brigade

Sa Borges commands the Division

Brazil from Braga line ends.

Braga with from Rio de Janeiro division